THE HAVASUPAI WOMAN

by

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Approved:

Chairman, Sup[illegible]tee

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University of Utah
1956

To my husband

Harold Murray Smithson

in appreciation

of generous understanding,

help, and encouragement.

FOREWORD

The Havasupai Indian tribe is a small ethnic group located immediately south of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in northern Arizona. The population is concentrated primarily in two parts of its prehistoric habitat, one area being a reservation in Havasu Canyon and the other a camp or village on the south rim of Grand Canyon near the tourist community and administrative headquarters of Grand Canyon National Park.

I. FIELD RESEARCH

Field research for this study was accomplished during three trips to the Havasupai Reservation and a fourth trip to the Havasupai village near the tourist community of Grand Canyon.

The first trip (July-August, 1950) was devoted primarily to becoming acquainted with individuals and to participating in group activities. Few formal interviews were attempted. The major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. The second trip (July-August, 1951) was focused upon recording data on the life cycle of the female, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting about three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe cultural activities at a different season of the year. A final trip of three weeks'

duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living in a cluster of cabins about one mile from the Anglo-American* tourist community, the latter known by its post office designation as Grand Canyon and the former referred to as Grand Canyon Indian Village. Havasupai residents of Grand Canyon are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area. During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman.

II. FIELD TECHNIQUE AND PROBLEM ORIENTATION

Field technique placed the investigator in the role of participant-observer. So far as possible, participation in group activities was on an informal basis. The investigator thus was included in swimming and gambling groups, and took part in weekly sweat baths, in the annual round dances, and in one funeral dance. Two curing "sings" by a shaman were

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*The term Anglo-American is used throughout this thesis to denote the culture which became predominant in the southwestern United States following political transfer of the area from Mexico to the United States and beginning with migration into the area of English speaking, United States citizens during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Earlier Spanish culture contacts are designated as Spanish. The present Mexican population, largely a socially and economically depressed minority group, in this paper is considered as being in the same category with present day Indian peoples of the Southwest. Anglo-American is used also in reference to individuals or population groups (such as towns) which are dominantly of Anglo-American culture tradition, and in reference to elements or aspects of the total culture.

attended, and the investigator was present on many occasions when speeches or harangues were delivered by individuals attempting to sway public sentiment, and when various minor social crises occurred. Reports on such group activities (in which a notebook would have been obtrusive) were written privately following observation. Residence for three weeks in one camp and informal visits to other camps by the investigator made possible close observation of the daily round of life in family groups.

At the inception of field work, the investigator's dual objective was to acquire experience in field techniques and to begin a broad acculturation study. Special interest lay in the areas of religion, feminine function in the total group, population problems, and physical and cultural origins. However, the investigator decided against an initial endeavor in the first two areas, believing them less favorable for an unpracticed and unskilled field worker than the third problem.

Familiarity with W. H. R. Rivers' exposition of the genealogical method had been acquired at the suggestion of Professor E. Adamson Hoebel, then Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Utah, who acted as advisor on field work with the Havasupai tribe. Use of the genealogical method, as set forth by Rivers, proved both easy and fruitful for a novice in ethnological field techniques and methodology. Brief and informal interviews with many individuals in the process of collecting and checking genealogical and population data facilitated acquaintance

with, and personal identification of, a larger segment of the tribal population than otherwise would have been possible in a similar period of time. Compilation of genealogical data led to formulation of hypotheses and, subsequently, to problem oriented approaches to specific phases of Havasupai culture. It was a comparatively easy step to the study of woman's cultural position, and later, to that of Havasupai religion. The latter will be presented in a later paper.

The present study is limited to an interpretation of the Havasupai woman's status and role in her family unit and in the larger social group. An analysis of her life cycle is an attempt to describe continuous changes and adaptations which constitute the normative pattern of expectation and regularity for the female.

III. INFORMANTS

Discretion dictates that the identity of informants and of individuals whose intimate affairs are disclosed be held in confidence.

Although the total number of informants consulted was much larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three males and six females, ranging in age from thirty-one to eighty-six years. The investigator was at all times completely dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most assiduously with the investi-

gator, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement.

With the help of an early informant, a tribal census by family groups was made. The addition of vital statistics and genealogical data to individual family group cards provided a ready springboard for contact with new individuals. It also afforded a testing ground for the selection of other informants. Interviews ranged from casual conversations, which sometimes became highly confidential and personal (particularly in the absence of a notebook) to more formal sessions, with or without an interpreter, depending upon the English facility of informants. A tape recorder was used for a sampling of songs and stories in December, 1951.

IV. ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES*

A monograph and several shorter papers by Leslie Spier resulted from his field work among the Havasupai in the summers of 1918, 1919, and 1921. His monograph, published in 1928, stands as the definitive ethnography on the Havasupai. An article by Elman Service on Havasupai land tenure, based on problems suggested by Spier in his monograph and in a separate paper on origin of clan organization, was published in 1947. A manuscript on the ethnobotany of Havasu Canyon and the adjoining esplanade and plateau areas written by Alfred Whiting is on file at the Museum of Northern Arizona,

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*For specific references see bibliography.

and was made available by its author to this investigator. Early observations of the Havasupai were made in publications by F. H. Cushing (1882), R. W. Shufeldt (1891), G. W. James (1907), H. W. Henshaw (1907), and E. S. Curtis (1908). Field research in recent years, unpublished at this writing so far as is known, has included a botanical study by Elzada Clover, ethnological work by Ralph Patrick and Richard Emerick, and an archaeological survey by Douglas W. Schwartz.

Important sources for this study, other than field research, include the three works by Spier, Whiting, and Service cited above. Use was also made of several other publications and manuscripts, listed in the bibliography, and personal communications and interviews with Office of Indian Affairs agents, physicians, school teachers, and other responsible persons who contact the Havasupai.

No attempt has been made here to detail all credit due Spier for data to be found in his monograph. To do so would be a formidable task since accounts by present informants closely parallel information recorded by Spier on the same subjects. Spier and other sources are carefully credited, however, in Chapter I, which presents general background materials relative to the present study. Spier is cited in succeeding chapters where his monograph includes material not in this investigator's notes, where an idea has been put forth or developed by him, where it seems pertinent to note that Spier's observation differed in any degree or that a culture

change has occurred since his investigation, where it seems applicable to bolster an observation by noting that Spier referred to a similar or identical example, and where Spier is directly quoted.

I acknowledge my debt to Spier for his ethnography, which includes much material relevant to a consideration of woman's cultural delineation in the life cycle and in a functional analysis of status and role. Spier's work has served both as a foundation and as a challenge in field interviews and in formulation of problem-oriented concepts for past and future investigation.

In the interest of brevity (both as to manuscript length and time involved in an exhuastive search of literature, none of which is indexed), generalized statements may be formulated citing only one example from Spier or other sources. While it is hoped that treatment of the subject in this thesis will not prove superficial, no attempt has been made either to exhaust the limits of this investigator's field notes and of other sources available or to explore every promising avenue of theory relative to problems stated or implied herein.

V. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the University Research Committee, University of Utah, for their support of my graduate study and field research by bestowal of a Graduate Research

Fellowship. This assistance saw me through the academic year of 1951-52 and was the means for two periods of field work during which most of the material for this thesis was recorded.

Members of my committee have been generous in their efforts to evaluate and improve this paper. I thank my chairman, Professor Elmer R. Smith, and my committee members, Dr. Henry Frost and Dr. Robert Anderson. I should like to thank Dr. E. Adamson Hoebel, now at the University of Minnesota, and Dr. Edward Norbeck, now at the University of California at Berkeley, each of whom acted for a time as committee members. In addition, Dr. Hoebel was advisor during the entire period of field research and was especially helpful in framing a thesis problem and in outlining itsscope and orientation. I wish to express appreciation to Dr. Jesse D. Jennings who has been an advisor on various problems relating to both field work and writing.

Many individuals have given such encouragement and invaluable help that it is difficult to express fully my appreciation. First among these, I give special thanks to my husband, Harold M. Smithson, who financed the first and fourth field trips and whose interest and understanding have been unfailing. My friend, Lois Snider, now Mrs. Lee Fetzer, shared the problems, inconveniences, and heartwarming experiences of the initial field venture. She was, at the time, an ideal companion, and since then, has urged and championed my

every effort to continue field work of which she, better than anyone else, understood the particular difficulties and rewards. Another friend, Verne B. Brown, professor emeritus of Santa Monica College, observed and took interest in my field research during the first summer and was first to suggest that I apply for a fellowship to continue the study. He has been a staunch supporter as well as a wise advisor on certain problems relating to field work.

A great debt of gratitude is owed to the Havasupai women and men who acted as unpaid, friendly informants and interpreters. It goes without saying that this study could not have been made without their kindness, patience, and generous contributions in time and energy.

Others who have assisted in ways too numerous to be described here: Miss Laetitia Viele, Episcopal missionary; Marian and Victor Collins, former day school teacher and resident agent since 1951, respectively; Mr. and Mrs. Olaf Barnard, former resident agent and day school teacher, respectively; Austin F. Ladd, assistant superintendent, Truxton Canon Agency, Valentine, Arizona; Madge Foster Knoblock, former day school teacher.

Assistance and advice on technical subjects have been given in personal interviews and communications by the following: Rees Anderson, M.D., F. W. Christiansen, Ramon Dangerfield, Francis M. Findlay, M.D., Robert Kuhne, L. J. Lull, M.D., Royal D. Marks, Charles E. Morelock, Dan Oniki, M.D., Leo Schnur, M.D., and Douglas W. Schwartz. Frederick

Douglas kindly placed at my disposal publications in his excellent collection.

I should like to express my appreciation to my friends, Carol Condie Stout, Gweneth G. Mulder, and Evelyn Knight, all three of whom assisted with typing, made helpful suggestions on content and organization of materials for this thesis, and gave technical advice on style. Mrs. Knight typed the first three chapters and Mrs. Mulder the remaining chapters of the final version. Kent Stout drafted the two maps which, to better facilitate reproduction, were afterwards traced. Therefore, lettering and other details which fall short of Mr. Stout's professional standard are not a reflection of his style or skill.

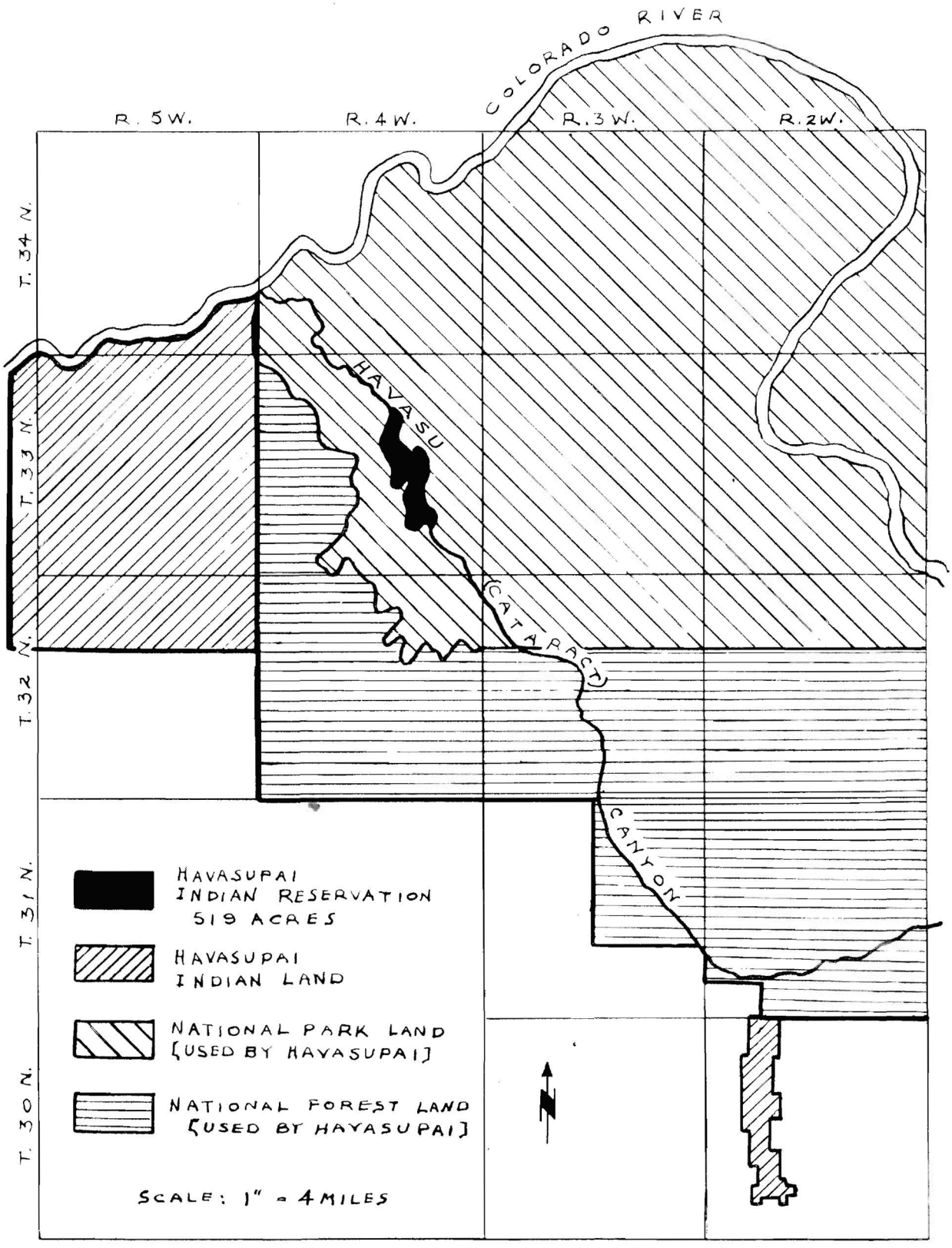
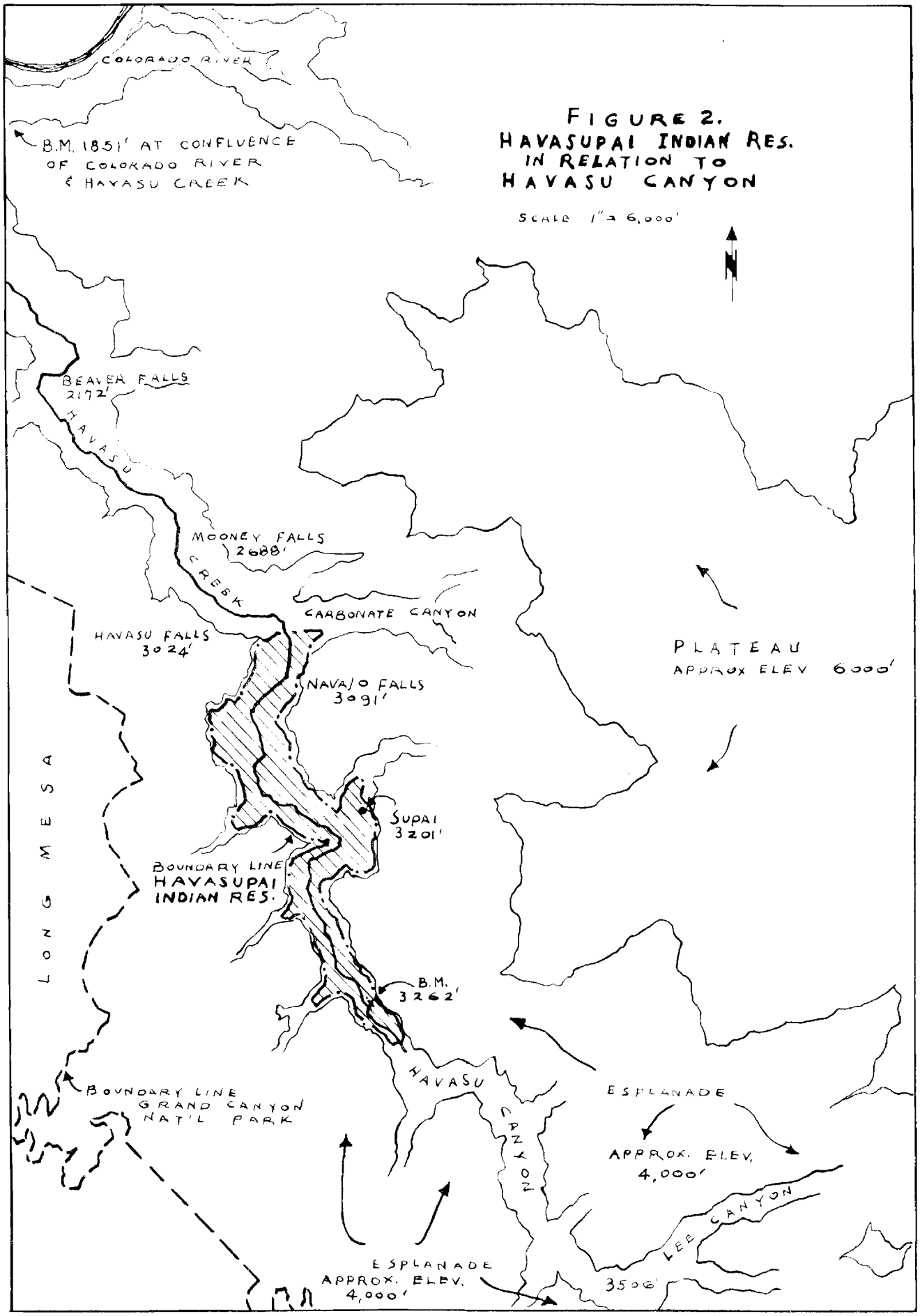


FIGURE 1. HAVASUPAI INDIAN RESERVATION & OTHER LANDS IN RELATION TO NATIONAL PARK & NATIONAL FOREST BOUNDARIES


COLORADO RIVER
B.M. 1851' AT CONFLUENCE OF COLORADO RIVER & HAVASU CREEK
FIGURE 2.
HAVASUPAI INDIAN RES.
IN RELATION TO
HAVASU CANYON
SCALE 1" = 6,000'
N
BEAVER FALLS
2172'
HAVASU
CREEK
MOONEY FALLS
2688'
CARBONATE CANYON
HAVASU FALLS
3024'
NAVAJO FALLS
3091'
PLATEAU
APPROX ELEV 6000'
LONG MESA
SUPAI
3201'
BOUNDARY LINE
HAVASUPAI
INDIAN RES.
B.M.
3262'
HAVASU
CANYON
BOUNDARY LINE
GRAND CANYON
NAT'L PARK
ESPLANADE
APPROX. ELEV.
4,000'
LEE CANYON
3506'
ESPLANADE
APPROX. ELEV.
4,000'

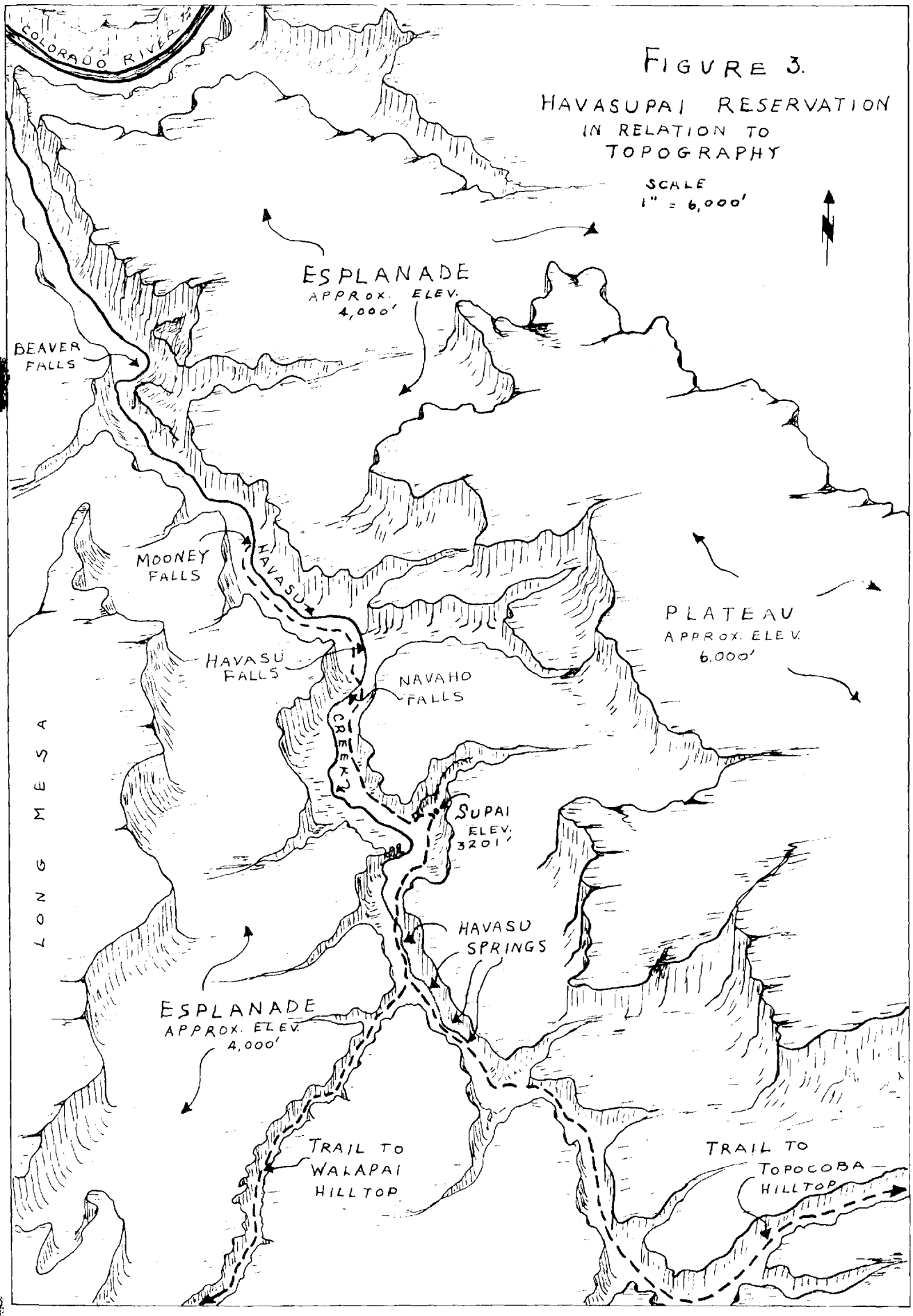


FIGURE 3.

HAVASUPAI RESERVATION
IN RELATION TO
TOPOGRAPHY

SCALE
1" = 6,000'

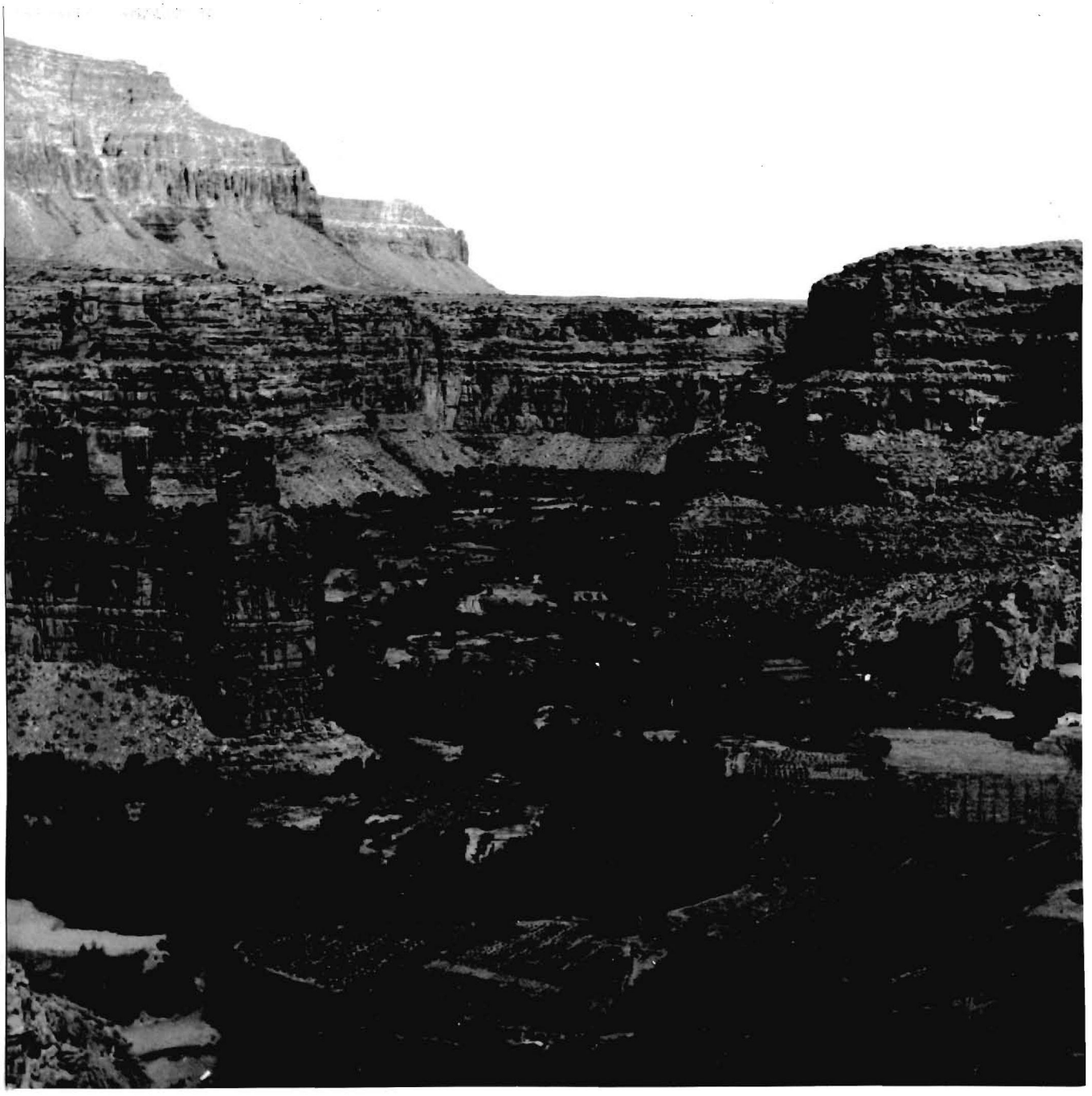


Figure 4. Supai fields and orchards in Havasu Canyon, looking northwest. Havasu Creek sweeps around the base of the Wegaleva, twin rock monoliths, at left. The summit of the Red Wall forms the Esplanade, a broad terrace, seen as the horizon at right. The White Wall rises above the Esplanade at left. Note steep talus at the base of the Red Wall. Caves or rock shelters formerly occupied by some families and rock structures used for food storage were located along shelf at top of talus.

Figure 5. Havasu Canyon looking south from the old Apache trail. The rock promontory, jutting from cliff in right foreground, has ruins of fortifications once used for defense against raiders. The Wegaleva extend from the canyon wall at right. The White Wall rises on the horizon in distant background.

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CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

An introduction to the physical setting and cultural framework of the Havasupai tribe seems pertinent to a clear presentation of data relative to the Havasupai woman.

I. PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In addition to their farm lands in Havasu Canyon, the former range of the Havasupai included a section of the plateau about ninety miles long and seventy-five miles wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks and bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier, 1928, p. 91).

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those of Spier except on the east where some of them include in their territory some land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado River. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes their former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado River to its confluence with the Colorado River.

Boundaries of former Havasupai territory probably never were defined in other than general terms. On the west they frequently camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Certainly, before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except from the Walapai.

Topographic features within former Havasupai territory may be divided into three categories: the Coconino Plateau, a terrace or "esplanade" (Whiting, n. d., p. 13) at a lower level, and the floor of Havasu Canyon.

The Coconino Plateau which lies south from the rim of Grand Canyon is eroded by washes and deeper gorges draining into the Colorado River. That part of the Coconino Plateau formerly used by the Havasupai is bisected in nearly equal parts by the upper washes and main gorge of Havasu Canyon which cuts northwest to the Colorado River.

In geologic terms,[1] the plateau is formed by the Kaibab limestone, which has been "quarried in at least one spot by modern inhabitants for use in building" (Mc.Gregor, 1951, p. 15).

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[1] In two publications Edwin D. McKee names, describes, and places in proper sequence the geologic strata of the Grand Canyon area. Dr. F. W. Christiansen, Department of Geology, University of Utah, in a personal interview made a specific application of McKee's data to the Havasu Canyon area which he has visited with McKee. Dr. Christiansen also supplied data relative to Havasu Springs and the process of travertine deposition by Havasu Creek.

The "White Wall" a row of vertical cliffs bounding each side of Havasu Canyon's broad upper gorge, is formed by erosion through the Kaibab and Toroweap limestones and the massive Coconino sandstone. The White Wall drops a thousand feet to the esplanade, which slopes gently from the Hermit shale talus at the base of the White Wall to the rim of the narrow inner chasm of Havasu Canyon. The Hermit shale is the topmost red stratum in the Grand Canyon area, contrasting sharply with the buff, grey, and white beds of the overlying limestone and sandstone.

The esplanade, a mile wide in places, lies on the surface of the red Supai formation which breaks into a rim of ragged stair-steps before dropping in vertical walls five hundred to eight hundred feet to the floor of Havasu Canyon's inner gorge. The Supai formation, composed of sandstone and shale, is called the "Red Wall" locally in reference to its color which contrasts with the White Wall above. This should not be confused with the geologic designation of the Redwall limestone, an underlying formation exposed downstream from Supai village in the area of the waterfalls.

A short distance up Havasu Canyon from Supai village, several springs emerge at the base of the cliffs, flowing over impervious shale units in the Supai formation. The water is highly charged with calcium bicarbonate ($CaHCO_3$) which, by evaporation, deposits travertine along the stream's course.

Elevation (U.S.G.S. topographic map, 1927) at Supai village is 3,200 feet. The floor of Havasu Canyon drops about

150 feet from south to north in a distance of approximately two miles over the cultivated area of the reservation. The surface of the esplanade averages about 4,000 feet in elevation, while the plateau rises east and south of Havasu Canyon varying from 6,000 feet near the rim to 6,800 feet at the limits of Havasupai territory.

Temperatures in Havasu Canyon are consistently higher throughout the year than on the plateau. Snow seldom reaches the canyon floor, but freezing occurs in the coldest months. On sunny winter days when canyon air is cool, the warmest areas are southern exposures along the top of the talus slopes where storage granaries were located and where some families occupied caves and rock overhangs until thirty or forty years ago.

Records of a climatological substation operated at Supai for fourteen years between 1899 and 1930 reveal a maximum annual precipitation of 13.87 inches and minimum of 4.50 inches averaging 8.89. Precipitation was highest in February, July and August (Martin and Kincer, 1933, Section 25, p. 14). Water on the plateau and the esplanade formerly was obtained from several springs. In Havasu Canyon the springs south of the village area feed the creek making irrigation possible.

Botanically, the plateau and the canyon floor are within the Sonoran Life Zone. On the plateau, clumps of juniper trees and stands of pinion and western yellow pine predominate. Sagebrush, yucca, and a variety of wild food plants occur on the plateau. Mescal and some of the plateau's food plants are found on the esplanade.

Trees and brush in Havasu Canyon include cottonwood, willow, acacia, and mesquite. Peach trees were introduced prior to 1876 (Whiting, n. d., p. 59). Other orchard crops are pears, apricots, apples, both black and white figs, plums, almonds, and pomegranates. Whiting (n. d., p. 60) lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantalopes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw, and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilis, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting, n. d., p. 60).

Spier (1928, p. 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Smaller game included cotton-tails, jack-rabbits, and squirrels. Mc.Gregor (1951, p. 17) reports predators now present on the plateau as lions, bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes.

Supai is the post office designation for the farming community on the Havasupai Reservation in Havasu (formerly Cataract) Canyon.

From the plateau, two trails wind through tributary canyons, which enter Havasu Canyon south of the village area near Havasu Springs. The two trails unite, winding among willows and cottonwoods fording Havasu Creek, and passing between fields, dyked in small sections for flood irrigation. Along the way, datura (jimson) weed blooms in the sandy earth.

Abruptly, the trail crosses a talus shoulder, bringing into view corn fields, fig trees, and peach orchards which splash bright green against sun-swept red canyon walls, a visual shock to the beholder after miles of duller earth colors. On the left, Havasu Creek sweeps in a broad curve around the base of a promontory topped by twin rock shafts, the Wegaleva, sharply outlined against the western sky.

Reservation farms occupy the canyon floor, one fourth to one half mile in width. Houses are located on individual farms throughout the area. Fields lie on both sides of the creek, occupying about 140 acres of arable land. For half a mile or so downstream from the village, an occasional field to which water can be diverted is also farmed. Fruit trees, still productive, and scars of abandoned fields mark an area below the village which, until about twenty years ago, was well populated.

Masses of crumbling travertine jut from the ground here and there, evidence of the shifting creek channel. Havasu Creek, swollen by melting snow or desert cloudbursts, churns its banks into mud, sometimes sweeping away a man's field and the ground beneath his house.

In January, 1911, the most disastrous flood of historic times funneled a sudden snow melt from the plateau and higher canyons into the confines of Havasu Canyon. A churning roar from the advancing waters signaled reservation residents, who made a pre-dawn flight to the talus slopes, saving all lives but that of one old woman. A wall of water smashed through

the village, leveling primitive hogans and stone government buildings alike and sweeping away crops, food stores, and personal possessions. Since that time some measures have been employed by the Office of Indian Affairs, without complete success, to contain the creek in a permanent channel in the village area.

An irrigation system, installed about thirty years ago, repeatedly has suffered major damage from floods. The Indian Service plans to install new diversion headings and to build three large aqueducts with permanent footings. This is expected to stabilize the present irrigation system and to add a few more acres to land now being farmed (Kelly, 1953, p. 56).

About a mile downstream from the village, Havasu Creek tumbles in a series of waterfalls which are a scenic lure to tourists.[2] The waterfalls are enhanced by travertine formations precipitated from minerals in the water. Terraces deposited at the crest of a waterfall eventually divert the falls to another location. When this occurs, the area abandoned by the falls is left decorated with draperies and ribbons of travertine, which may hang free from the backwall like projecting tongues. Travertine terraces enclose turquoise pools beneath each waterfall.

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[2] Since the two most spectacular waterfalls are beyond the reservation boundary, concern is felt by the Havasupai that their budding tribal cooperative tourist enterprise may sometime be doomed. Private business interests may be able to by-pass the reservation area by providing transportation into the canyon at the falls and establishing tourist accomodations there.

In 1932, Havasu Creek in flood created Panameda (or Fifty-Foot) Falls, which through the years festooned itself in moss-covered travertine. A terrace on its crest made the creek channel broad and shallow, increasing the span of the falls. Terraces below Panameda held a blue-green pool, a favorite of photographers. In 1952, another flood destroyed Panameda falls by scouring away the soft earth around one side of its more resistent travertine crest. Lowering of the creek channel some twenty-five or thirty feet at that point rendered useless the irrigation system servicing fields in the vicinity.

Beyond Panameda's scar is Navaho Falls, tumbling over two sides of a wedge-shaped bluff. Partially hidden from the present trail, it can be viewed in its entirety only from an old trail on the opposite side of the canyon.

Downstream, Havasu (or Bridal Veil) Falls drops about 110 feet in a double ribbon, its waters separated by a terrace at its crest. Terraces dam the creek in a series of turquoise pools below Havasu Falls. Several burial grounds and a site formerly used for cremation of the dead are located in this area. Carbonate Canyon, which opens eastward from the base of Havasu Falls, has been mined by companies in unprofitable attempts to transport lead and silver ore to the nearest road. A cluster of frame cabins below Havasu Falls, still known as Miners' Camp, today is used for tourist quarters. From Havasu Falls to the Colorado River, evidences of prospecting can be seen, including several old ladders scaling the cliffs

and many test holes blasted into the canyon walls.

Mooney Falls, two and one-half miles beyond Supai, marks the end of the horse trail. Here the canyon floor makes a sheer drop of about 220 feet. This precipice is festooned with enormous red travertine curtains extending from one side of the canyon to the other, indicating that the creek channel has at one time or another occupied each part of the area. Mooney plunges into a large turquoise pool, intensified in color by contrast with the red wall so close to it. Formerly, one could reach the bottom of Mooney Falls only by descending a rope. This waterfall was named for a miner who fell to his death when his rope snapped. Today, one descends by a stairway tunneled inside the travertine precipice and by iron spikes and footrests chiseled into the cliff's face.

From Mooney Falls it is approximately five and one half miles to the Colorado River. Beaver Falls, a series of small cascades, is the only drop in the remaining course of Havasu Creek.

II. CULTURAL ORIGIN

Spier (1928, p. 98) states that the Havasupai probably originated as a branch of the Walapai tribe, practicing more intensive agriculture and subsequently occupying lands favorable to farming. The Havasupai feel more akin to the Walapai than to other neighboring tribes. In historic times the boundary between the contiguous areas occupied by the

Havasupai and the Walapai on the Coconino Plateau was ill defined, and members of both tribes frequently met and camped together. At present, there is a higher rate of intermarriage with the Walapai than with any other tribe. The close association and prevailing friendly relations between the two tribes in historic times are reflected in tribal lore which allies them as victims of other tribes in warfare and raiding and as partners in retaliatory expeditions. The origin myths and much other folklore of the two tribes are almost identical in content. While the Walapai and Havasupai dialects are very similar, members of both tribes are conscious of certain differences in vocabulary and speed of utterance, the Havasupai speaking more slowly. Thus evidence seems to indicate a common origin for the two tribes. Whiting (n. d., p. 11) suggests that designation of the Havasupai as a tribe independent of the Walapai "was probably only an accident of administrative history." However, separation occurred early enough to permit development of a group consciousness in both the Havasupai and the Walapai tribes; hence, delineation of the Havasupai as a tribe appears justifiable.

Kroeber (1947, p. 41) describes seven subtribes or bands within the Walapai tribe. "The Havasupai," he writes, "look like a Walapai band or subtribe which has acquired somewhat greater ethnic, cultural, and historic independence" than the other seven.

Spier (1929, p. 217) classed the Havasupai culture as primarily Great Basin in type with a minor inclusion of pueblo

traits. Kroeber (1947, p. 42) further states that Havasupai resemblance to Great Basin culture is not only "in considerable specific content, but especially in similar meagerness of defined patterns."

Kelly (1953, p. 10) designates the Havasupai a Plateau Rancheria tribe along with the Walapai, Yavapai, Paiute, and Chemehuevi. Kroeber (1947, p. 41) simply classes the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai together as Northwest Arizona Yumans.

In a personal communication of May, 1954, Douglas W. Schwartz stated that he was, at that time, excavating archaeological sites in Havasu Canyon. Since then, it has been reliably reported from other sources that his survey substantiates a theory that the Havasupai are descendants of the Cohonino people who, about 600 to 1200 A. D., occupied the Coconino Plateau area.

III. LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Linguistically the Havasupai, together with the Walapai and Yavapai, form the northeastern Yuman group, a division of the Hokan linguistic family. Havasupai and Walapai dialects are almost identical and differ but little from Yavapai. Kroeber (1943, p. 25) states that Havasupai resembles Paipai of Baja, California. Whiting (n. d., p. 27) considers both the northeastern Yumans and the Paipai to be "marginal and relatively close to the ancestral patterns."

IV. PHYSICAL TYPE

Spier (1928, p. 99) reports that Hrdlicka gave the height of Havasupai and Walapai together as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women. In a sample of fourteen Havasupai women and eight Havasupai men, this investigator found an average height of 166.05 cm. for men and 156.2 cm. for women. Visual observation indicates that the Havasupai may be somewhat smaller than the Walapai. Interestingly, origin myths of the Walapai (Kroeber, 1935, p. 12) and of the Havasupai state that, when the creator made the tribes from sticks (or pieces of cane), he made the Havasupai from a stick shorter than the one he used for the Walapai. Havasupai of both sexes tend toward short stocky proportions, although a minority of individuals of slender build does exist. Women generally are slender until puberty or later, but they tend to become rotund adults, especially in middle age. Average weight for eight men was 163 pounds and for fourteen women 151.5 pounds.

Measurements of nine males and fifteen females indicated that the Havasupai are hyperbrachycephalic, the average for both sexes being 89.2 cm. Individual cephalic indices ranged from 87.3 cm. to 91.6 cm. for males and from 85.2 cm. to 92.7 cm. for females. However, these measurements are open to question due to inexperience of the investigator and to use of a possibly inaccurate spreading caliper (which possibly was damaged while being packed into the canyon). Some occipital flattening of the skull was noted by visual inspection

of several men, but this did not appear to be extreme. Thus hyperbrachycephaly was not anticipated and should not be assumed without further testing. If head deformation is prevalent in the population, however, use of the cradleboard during infancy may be a contributing factor.

Spier (1928, p. 99) reports that lightness of Havasupai skin color was noted by Garces, Cushing, and Smart. Hair is straight and black in adults but may be a dark brown with a slightly reddish cast in some young children. Grayness is not marked even in very old persons, and white hair is most uncommon, there being only two or three such examples at present (Allen Akaba and Susie Hanna Jones). Body hair and beards are scant, the latter being somewhat heavier than average in males belonging to one or two families. Eyes are dark brown, slightly almond-shaped, spaced widely, and in many individuals have a characteristic crease extending from the outer corners. Nose form is somewhat flat with a low base and broad nostrils, although some individuals have small, finely shaped noses. Spier (1928, p. 99) observed a common, "peculiar configuration of the whorls of the ear." Lips are full, the face is rather broad, and a number of individuals have prominent cheek bones. Dimples below the mouth corners or in the cheeks are not uncommon. Teeth are white and regular, appearing to be in quite good condition until middle or old age; however, this does not imply an absence of cavities which occur with some frequency. Spier (1928, p. 99) observed a marked family resemblance within the group, a phenomenon still

confusingly conspicuous at first contact with the tribe.

V. TRIBAL NAME

Whiting (n. d., p. 9) translates Havasupai as "the people who live at the place which is green" in contradiction to the euphonic rendition "people of the blue-green water." The latter is traced by Whiting to a conscious parallel of Cadman's "Land of the Sky-blue Waters." The translation "blue-green water" wins popular acceptance because it aptly describes the turquoise pools of Havasu Creek. However, this canyon oasis in a semi-desert area may have been referred to as "the green place," and its inhabitants logically may have become known as "the people who live at the green place." Whiting considers the syllable "ha," formerly translated as "water," to be part of the color term "havasu" meaning blue or green rather than blue-green. "Pai" means "people" in the tribal names Havasupai, Walapai, and Yavapai. Havasupai is an Anglicized contraction of the native designation for this tribe, and Supai, referring both to the place and to the people, is a further abbreviation. Earliest Spanish and Anglo-American references to the Havasupai tribe were under the appellation "Coconino" in a variety of spellings, the name possibly being derived from the Zuni term for the Havasupai, ka'nina (Spier, 1928, p. 98). From this source the county where the Havasupai live received the name Coconino County.

VI. INTERTRIBAL CONTACTS

Walapai. Since the Havasupai tribe probably originated as a sub-group of the Walapai and has occupied adjacent territory to the parent group, association between the two groups has been longer and more intimate than with any other tribe. Intermarriage with the Walapai occurs with much greater frequency than with any other group, and few, if any Havasupai families seem to be without consanguine or affinal Walapai relatives. Further details concerning inter-action of these tribes are scattered throughout this thesis incident to other topics, and, therefore, repetition here is considered unnecessary.

Yavapai and Apache. Contact with the Yavapai was limited to Yavapai raids upon the Havasupai and retaliatory attacks by the Havasupai until about 1865, when the two tribes agreed to cease hostilities in favor of trade (Spier, 1928, p. 375). Western Apache groups probably joined Yavapai parties raiding the Havasupai (Spier, 1928, p. 356), and today raids are attributed to them. Not once did an informant voluntarily credit the Yavapai with raiding the canyon although, under questioning, it might be remembered that "maybe it was a Yavapai party, but most of those raids were by Apaches." The stories most likely to be recalled concern raids in which girls were stolen. An old man, after recounting such a tale, jokingly remarked, "I think maybe those Apaches got lots of little Supai babies now."

Navaho. The earliest encounters with the Navaho in

1864 (Spier, 1928, p. 95), were somewhat hostile, but trading and friendly relations developed in succeeding years. However, well within memory of present informants, trading trips to Hopi villages were undertaken with apprehension lest they encounter Navahos along the way who might steal their horses and trade goods and might even kill them. A few Navahos ventured quite early into Havasu Canyon to participate in harvest festivites, gambling, and trading. One Havasupai man, now about sixty-five, lived two years of his boyhood with a Navaho family. He still speaks of the Navaho family head with great affection and treasures a photograph of him. This individual acquired a repertoire of Navaho sweatbath songs which he uses along with usual Havasupai songs, and he also sings the Navaho Yebechai.

Two Havasupai women have, within the last ten years, sought and received treatment from Navaho medicine men to prevent further child-bearing. One woman already had three children, and the other, with seven children, had come near death at her last labor. Both informants stated that Navaho shamans possessed knowledge of effective herbs for this purpose, whereas neither Havasupai shamans nor folk tradition provided reliable means of contraception.

Today, Navahos by families or in groups of young men occasionally drift into Supai to gamble and dance at harvest time. The young men usually enter rodeo competition. The two tribes used Hopi as a lingua franca at their first meeting in 1864 (Spier, 1928, p. 95). At present, Navaho visitors

are directed to camp near one of the few Havasupai who speak a little Navaho; otherwise, communication is in English.

Paiute. Spier (1928, pp. 251-53) reports that, about 1850 or earlier, Havasupai crossed the Colorado River with the Walapai for a retaliatory attack upon the Paiute who, on a raid of the Walapai, had killed many men, women, and children. The party succeeded in killing many Paiute but was routed, and nearly all members were killed before they could return across the river. About 1856 (Spier, 1928, p. 360) some Paiute visited Havasu Canyon, and a few years later, a number of them, in temporary exile from their homes, camped with the Walapai around Pine Springs where they were also joined by some Havasupai. For a time, Paiute and Havasupai families camped together on the plateau and had trade relations, especially at harvest time in Havasu Canyon. Descendants of a Paiute woman, who became second wife to a Havasupai chief, recognize their descent today, but have no contact with Paiute relatives.

According to Mooney (1896, p. 785), the Havasupai received the ghost dance directly from the Paiute. The ghost dance was rejected when its performance was followed by illness of many people. This experience, however, did not disrupt relations with the Paiute. In fact, aspects of the ghost dance were observed in the Havasupai circle dance for some years after the first rejection of it (Spier, 1928, p. 266; Whiting, n. d., p. 207). A sequence of Paiute songs lasting about two hours initiated the 1951 circle dance in Supai,

being sung by Havasupai and Walapai together.

Hopi. The Havasupai have had a long history of trade with the Hopi. Informants stress that the Hopi are like brothers to them. Intermarriage has been infrequent, but at least two illegitimate Havasupai children are said to be of Hopi paternity. A young Havasupai woman is at present married to a Hopi-Zuni man whom she met at Grand Canyon. The couple and their baby are living in a Hopi village. A Havasupai shaman, in recent years, has lived for months at a time with Hopi friends. When he broke an ankle in a fall from a truck while visiting the Hopi, he was treated by a Hopi shaman who, he told this investigator, had "good medicine" for broken bones and who knew more than Havasupai know about treating fractures.

The investigator accompanied a Havasupai couple on a trading trip to Moenkopi in 1952. These Havasupai knew none of the Moenkopi residents but were warmly received, invited into houses, and asked to return. Hopi women struck up immediate conversation with the Havasupai woman and admired her baby. The Havasupai traded powdered red ochre (prepared by the man), exchanging it by measured teaspoonsful for piki bread, fresh string beans, peaches, pears, cantalope, and watermelons. Money was paid if a Hopi didn't want red ochre and after the supply of ochre was gone.

Formerly, Havasupai women preferred woven Hopi belts for binding the abdomen after childbirth. Havasupai baskets and buckskins were in great demand among the Hopi. Whiting

(n. d., p.59) states that the Havasupai acquired peach trees from the Hopi prior to 1876. He has demonstrated the fallacy of a popular belief that John D. Lee, a refugee Mormon, introduced peaches to Havasu Canyon (Whiting, n. d., p. 59). Havasupai use of the Hopi name for peaches supports Whiting's thesis of a Hopi origin for Havasupai orchards.

The Hopi also acted as a neutral third party and mediator in establishing a truce or peace between Havasupai and their enemies (Spier, 1928, p. 375).

Mohave. Spier (1928, pp. 100, 244) notes that the Mohave were on the western end of a trade route running through the Walapai, Havasupai, and Navaho lands to the Hopi mesas. Havasupai contact with the Mohave was mostly through the Walapai, but Havasupai sometimes made trading trips to the Mohave (Spier, 1928, p. 245). From them the Havasupai obtained a species of dwarf corn (Spier, 1928, p. 103).

At the time of Spier's study, the Havasupai through the Walapai had learned Mohave funeral songs and a dance, the dance acquired earlier by the Mohave from the Paiute tribe, but older people objected to mention of the dead in the songs, giving the ceremony a doubtful and limited acceptance (Spier, 1928, pp. 267-8). Through the intervening years, the Mohave funeral dance and songs, in a modified version of their use among the Walapai have taken firm root as the only funeral ceremony (other than Christian) practiced by the Havasupai. For a time, Havasupai children attended boarding school at Fort Mohave. It is reported that at least two of those who

know the Mohave songs best learned them directly from the Mohave while they were at school. However, this has not been checked with the individuals concerned.

Intermarriage with the Mohave appears to have been limited; the investigator is unaware of any such unions having occurred in the past, and only one union today exists between Mohave and a Havasupai-Walapai boy raised on the Walapai reservation.

VII. HISTORICAL NON-INDIAN CONTACTS

Spier (1928, p. 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco Garces, who spent a few days in Havasu Canyon in 1776. Only two or three parties of white men made contact with the tribe during the following century. In 1881 Cushing made a visit to "The Nation of the Willows," which he reported in the Atlantic Monthly. This was only the first publication in a succession of informal reports concerning this tribe. In recent years, more than a dozen articles by professional writers or tourists have been published in such magazines as Natural History, The Saturday Evening Post, and National Geographic. Emphasis in these articles is always upon rugged trails leading into the canyon, isolation of the tribe, and beauty of the canyon and its waterfalls. Professional writers and tourists see very little of the Indians who inhabit the canyon, with the exception of a few less timid individuals who smile in return for silver.

The seeming isolation of the Havasupai tribe is a

misconception. The Havasupai consider the trails between their canyon and the outside world much less formidable than do the few tourists who venture into Supai. The trails serve as a barrier similar to a one-way viewing glass which permits the Havasupai to visit the outside world, but which rather effectively screens them from curious Anglo-Americans.

Of the two most popular trails which enter Havasu Canyon, Topecoba trail is the more spectacular. From the tourist community of Grand Canyon on the south rim of the Colorado River gorge, a dirt road stretches thirty-five miles to Topecoba Hilltop. From there a trail drops a thousand feet, making twenty-nine switchbacks in the first mile and a half. This fourteen-mile trail then follows a more gentle gradient down Lee's Canyon, winding the last few miles along a dry streambed between the perpendicular walls of Havasu Canyon.

Walapai (also Hualpai or Hualapai) Hilltop, the other point of departure for Havasu Canyon, lies 65 miles north, by well-graded, dirt road from Peach Springs, Arizona and Highway 66. From Walapai Hilltop, an eight-mile trail descends between massive white walls until it dips into the head of an inner, narrow, red-walled gorge which, in many places, hides the upper white cliffs from view. As this trail emerges from Walapai Canyon, it unites with Topecoba trail to wind through the Havasu Canyon to the village area.

VIII. RESERVATION

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area five miles wide by twelve miles long lying on the floor of Havasu Canyon and the adjacent esplanade. In 1882, reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Havasu Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, 1952, personnal communication).

IX. UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost one hundred miles away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Havasu Canyon about 1895 (Whiting, n. d., p. 21).

Medical Services. Sometime after 1910 the Office of Indian Affairs built a hospital in Supai, staffing it with a

doctor and later with a nurse. The hospital has been closed in recent years. First aid is given by the resident missionary or the agent. The Indian Service provides medical services of diagnosis, emergency treatment, and hospitalization for a period of five days at Grand Canyon hospital located forty-nine miles from Supai. For periods longer than five days, cases are sent to Indian hospitals in Parker or Phoenix, Arizona, or Albuquerque, New Mexico (Kelly, 1953, p. 57; Leo Schnur, M. D., 1952, personal interview).

School. A day school, operated by the Indian Service at Supai, is staffed with one teacher for pre-primary through fourth or fifth grade, depending upon registration. Students beyond fifth grade attend either Theodore Roosevelt Boarding School at Fort Apache, or the Indian Service school at Phoenix. In 1952, there were twenty-three children in the Supai day school, sixteen in boarding schools, and twelve in public schools, a total of fifty-one. Ten school age children were not in school (Kelly, 1953, p. 56).

The first Havasupai students ready for secondary school attended a boarding school at Valentine, Arizona. Later students were sent to Fort Mohave near Needles, and to Sherman Institute at Riverside, California. At least three adults, born from 1909 to 1912, attended school at Albuquerque, New Mexico. Comparatively few Havasupai are high school graduates; a large number of children leave school by the ninth or tenth grade. In recent years several children of both sexes have run away from the Phoenix Indian school to return home, the

reason usually being homesickness or disinterest in school. A few girls have either run away or been sent home because of pregnancy. Early in the school program, parents feared having their children sent away to school, having heard rumors that children at school frequently died of contagious diseases. Subsequent deaths of Havasupai children from disease and other causes while away at school, however, aroused no real resistence among parents. Suicide of one youth, a brother of Kit Jones, about 1900 while he was being returned to school, was attributed to his dislike for it. While fear of disease no longer seems to be a factor, there is little parental pressure upon young people to attend school. Mothers frequently miss the help of teen-age daughters in camp work, and parents of both sexes "just like to have their children around." Children who run away from school seldom are induced to return.

X. CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, the first sermon being preached in 1927 to an audience of about twenty-five Havasupai. A resident nurse of Baptist affiliation held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Reverend Cecil Harris in charge (n. d., Jenkins). Monthly meetings

with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during Mr. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years. In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the Havasupai reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program of Christian religious services and missionary work, including first aid treatment, community social activities, special educational and social activities for children, and numerous other services to the community.

XI. ECONOMIC TRANSITION AND ACCULTURATION

Before pressures of the Anglo-American group were felt, the Havasupai wintered on the plateau and families returned there for short periods during the summer. Men, singly or in small groups, returned there on frequent hunting trips. Whiting (n. d., p. 61) suggests that the Havasupai "conceive of their agriculture as something incidental, a supplement to a non-agricultural way of life." Whiting points out that, even today when farming is virtually their only resource, Havasupai do not take pride in their fields as Pueblo farmers

do, regarding the land rather as a confining element which restricts their freedom. Whiting (n. d., p. 53) states further that, in the prehistoric economy, neither agricultural produce nor the wild food supply was available in sufficient quantity to sustain the population, and that it was essential for each family to supplement hunting and gathering activities by farming. When adverse conditions depleted both these resources, as occasionally happened, the subsistence level dropped to a dangerous low, and individual families might go to live with friends or relatives among the Walapai and Hopi. In turn, the Havasupai were hosts to families from both these tribes in years of bountiful harvest.

However, Whiting's thesis is in contradiction to Spier's assertion that the Havasupai are so largely agriculturists that the "loss of a crop may mean a famine year" (Spier, 1928, p. 101). Wild food plants he reports were primarily a winter supplement to field products. In another place, Spier (1928, p. 108) further states that hunting is "a man's second occupation, for he relies mainly on his field products."

Perhaps the difference Whiting discerns between Pueblo and Havasupai attitudes toward farming is in part a result of natural environment. Certainly, pueblo farmers must pit their ingenuity against desert aridity to win a harvest, while a seed dropped in a Havasu Canyon field will grow with only occasional attention from the farmer.

It has been indicated by several informants that the

prehistoric residence pattern, although largely divided between the plateau in winter and summer, and the canyon in spring and fall, was followed loosely somewhat according to family preference. Certain families liked to spend all or most of the summer in the canyon rather than limit their residence to planting and harvesting seasons. The practice within families and in the tribal group also varied from year to year, depending upon such factors as the abundance or scarcity of game, weather conditions, presence in the area of enemy raiding parties, and personal circumstances, including illness or death. One factor relative to canyon residence was the reported scarcity of firewood. It is said that cottonwood trees were introduced there only after establishment of the sub-agency. Scarcity of firewood for heating in winter is an ever present problem today.

Whenever families were camped in Havasu Canyon, women made frequent gathering trips to the esplanade which supported some of the wild food plants of the higher plateau. A number of springs on the esplanade served as focal points for camps of certain families. Ownership of the various springs was vested in specific individuals, and both the springs and the surrounding land were inherited. The esplanade seems to have been used with increasing frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even today, with cultivation of alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon. Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside for such use on the plateau. However, the esplanade, located

nearer Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed only at their upper ends near the base of the White Wall, made convenient pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Spier (1928, pp. 99-100) reported that the Havasupai journeyed from the plateau to the canyon in early spring, planting activities beginning in mid-April. In summer, everyone, except those who were away on trading trips, lived in the canyon village. Corn ripened for use by the middle of June, the harvest continuing until September when other domestic crops and wild plant foods were also harvested and prepared for winter storage. By the middle of October, family groups were drifting back to semi-permanent winter camps on the plateau.

Havasu Canyon was accessible from three directions by means of half a dozen horse trails and several foot trails which entered the canyon close to the village area. These trails were the ones most frequently negotiated in aboriginal times. Although these old trails are sometimes used at present, the Havasupai more frequently travel the improved Topecoba and Walapai trails which are used also for packing tourists and supplies into Supai.

Whiting (n. d., p. 19) considers the few Spanish influences which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along established prehistoric trade routes especially the one between the Hopi and the Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance

of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions into the area.

However, the first significant contact Havasupai had with Americans was with prospectors and miners who entered Havasu Canyon following the 1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls. Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establishment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., p. 20). The initial mining operation failed due to transportation difficulties, but this did not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Havasu Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers between the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east who were invading the area between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai and Navaho tribes served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and direct Anglo-American pressure, but cattlemen soon moved into the Havasupai plateau range, and tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure point (Whiting, n. d., p. 20). Establishment of a sub-agency and a day school in Havasu Canyon in 1895 marked the beginning of a period of increased isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to winter in the canyon while their children attended school.

Encroachments on their range had reduced the supply of wild plant foods and game available, and as agriculture alone had never been adequate to maintain the population, their circumstances were regarded as critical both by Havasupai and Americans who agreed that the group was verging on extinction (Whiting, n. d. ,p. 21). Population has remained stable, however, with exception of relatively minor fluctuations.

Curtailment of wild food supplies somewhat increased importance of domestic crops, but tribal subsistence remained at a minimum level. Diet of the children was supplemented by a school lunch program initiated with establishment of a day school and continued to the present time. The tribe, as a group and on a family basis, has received some government assistance in periods of crisis.

Kelly (1953, p. 56) places the median annual income for all families (meaning those residing primarily in Supai) under $300.00. Kelly states that, in the fiscal year of 1952, in a total of thirty-four families, nineteen received total support from welfare and one received partial support. (The twenty families receiving aid would include households with (1) dependent, orphaned or illegitimate children and (2) aged or infirm persons. Such families almost invariably do some gardening and may, in addition, receive aid from relatives outside their camp group in the form of labor or gifts of garden produce or other commodities.) Kelly found fourteen families self supporting, three from reservation resources, and eleven from outside wage work. It is significant that

not one family was self supporting from farming alone.

Families economically sustained from reservation resources no doubt are among three families of the following employees: agency packer, mail carrier, postmaster, school laborer, school cook, and tribal business manager.

O. G. Barnard, the resident agent, quoted the following monthly salaries for some of the above named positions in 1951: Havasupai Development Enterprise Manager (at that time including the jobs of tourist manager, storekeeper, and supervisor of farm machinery), $65.00; postmaster, $70.00; mail carrier, $300.00; government packer, average of $50.00 to $70.00 for most of the year; school laborer, $35.00 to $50.00; and school housekeeper and cook, $120.00. The agent, in enumerating other possible sources of income, also listed government employment for irrigation system repairs, cattle sales, government financial assistance to qualified persons, packing for the store, and packer and guide service for tourists.

The Indian Service annually pays an estimated average of $800.00 to $1,000.00 for repair of ditch damages by flood in Supai. However, following one severe flood in 1951, such as occurs every few years in Supai, the Indian Service paid more than $1,200.00 in wages to a crew of twenty Havasupai men who repaired the irrigation system (Barnard, 1951, personal interview). Kelly (1953, p. 53) reports the Office of Indian Affairs budget for 1953 to have been $2,545.00 for irrigation operation in Supai, which sum, of course, covered costs in

addition to wages.

A few cattle owned by the Havasupai are concentrated in certain families. For about ten years, the Havasupai have participated in one or two sales annually. In one sale held prior to 1950, about thirty-five head were disposed of, leaving a balance of less than one hundred head distributed among twenty cattle owners. In May, 1951, eight or ten men participated in a sale, the average cash receipt being $200.00 for each man. The Havasupai acquired their cattle long ago, probably between settlement of Anglo-American ranchers in the area and establishment of a reservation. Their stock appears to be predominately a long horn breed, perhaps Chihuahua. In recent years, some stock has been acquired by young men from the Walapai Indians and Anglo-American ranchers.

The number of horses owned by the Havasupai is pertinent to their cattle ownership problems. For many years, available range was overstocked with horses which they could not be induced to sell. After much urging, the Havasupai sold three carloads of horses in 1947, and in subsequent years have reduced their herd further to a level more consistent with their needs and with their expressed desire to increase cattle herds. (Cows are not milked, the Havasupai not having acquired a taste for milk.)

For financial assistance, individuals qualify in the following categories: (1) old age, over sixty-five years; (2) widows with dependent children; (3) mothers of illegitimate

children; (4) blind; (5) persons otherwise physically disabled. Exact amounts received by individuals in the above categories were not determined, and it is probable that amounts are scaled according to need and number of persons involved. In the following examples, monthly sums are presented as estimates: (1) old age pension to a single man or woman, $65.00; (2) widow with two minor children, $80.00; (3) mother of an illegitimate child, $55.00; (4) blind, slightly more than old age pension; and (5) medical disability other than blindness, $120.00.

The agent reported that, for 1950, annual income for packing tourists averaged $30.00 ($2.50 per month) per packer. This income was concentrated almost entirely in the summer months. In addition, the tribal cooperative association employs six to eight packers to transport stock from Walapai Hilltop to the store about once each month, dividing approximately $75.00 among them for the trip. Any Havasupai man over eighteen years of age who has saddle horses and pack horses or mules may place himself on the application list for packing jobs. Men on the list receive assignments in rotation.

Other minor sources of income are received from very limited sale or trade of farm produce, sale of baskets by half a dozen women to tourists, sale of a few tanned buckskins by men to members of other tribes, and winning of rodeo prizes by younger men who enter competitions in neighboring Anglo-American communities and other tribal areas.

Havasupai men, being excellent horsemen, are in demand by neighboring ranchers. Perhaps more than a dozen young men work periodically as ranch hands and regularly participate in autumn round-ups of cattle owned by the Walapai tribe and by Anglo-American ranchers.

Havasupai who leave the canyon to find employment outside may become permanent residents of neighboring Anglo-American communities, but their ties with relatives living in the canyon and their sense of identification with the tribe remain strong. Visits to Supai are made with some frequency, and such individuals do not voluntarily relinquish title to their lands in the canyon. If their fields are used by others, as they usually are, ownership will pass in time (perhaps without recognition of the transfer by the former owner), to canyon residents by right of need and usage (Spier, 1928, p. 231; Service, 1947, p. 364).

Individuals who find permanent or temporary employment outside Supai may contribute to the support of close relatives remaining in the canyon, although usually such assistance is in the form of small gifts, or perhaps loans. Havasupai families remaining away from Supai for long periods tend to move from town to town. While this is doubtless traceable in some degree to local employment markets, many of these families seem periodically drawn to communities where other Havasupai are living, especially to Grand Canyon village.

About a mile from Grand Canyon village, a number of Havasupai families occupy a small group of frame cabins

provided for them. Other Havasupai families live in cabins in the tourist cabin camp vicinity. Also closely associated with the Grand Canyon group are a few families at Rowe Well and Hopi Tower, each only a few miles distant, and the mail carrier's family at Pasture Wash, about thirty miles southwestward near Topecoba Hilltop. Families located in and near Grand Canyon village constitute the largest concentration of Havasupai population outside reservation boundaries in Havasu Canyon.

Havasupai families there in no sense make up an independent community, being instead wholly dependent upon the community of Grand Canyon for employment and for all public services.

A nucleus of eight Grand Canyon Havasupai families may be considered permanent residents, some of them having lived there continuously for ten or fifteen years. (Use of the word "permanent" here is somewhat restricted, not necessarily implying continued future residence at Grand Canyon except in the sense that such residence is probable for the immediate future.) These "permanent" residents are, for the most part, families in which an adult male has held the same job for a period of years. Attached to these family groups are several single or widowed men who also are permanently employed at Grand Canyon.

Temporary Grand Canyon residents include: (1) families who normally reside either on the reservation or in Anglo-American towns, but who move to Grand Canyon now and then for periods ranging from a few months to several years;

(2) relatives who come to visit singly or in family groups for days, weeks, or longer, and some who may come to spend the winter months; and (3) a summer influx of individuals of both sexes, usually unmarried young adults, needed for temporary employment during the heaviest tourist season.

Many persons in this third category belong to family groups in Supai, their earnings thus being significant to economy on the reservation. Families in Supai, temporarily relieved of their support, may also benefit by some assistance from these individuals.

Temporary employment may be found by most of this group in cabin or hotel maid service, kitchen work, laundry, or garbage disposal, while a few miscellaneous jobs such as stable-hands, truck drivers, mechanics, housemaids for resident families, etc. may be available.

Havasupai who are permanently employed at Grand Canyon or elsewhere, contribute less to reservation income than do individuals temporarily employed and belonging to households in Supai. Permanent employees, of course, contribute indirectly by relieving competition for canyon resources in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation close to a source of steady income.

From the original Havasupai semi-nomadic, annual migration cycle and combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of

farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last sixty year period, has produced an unevenness in adaption of individuals within the tribe.

For many years following establishment of a sub-agency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. At present, only one old couple regularly winters on the plateau, although a few families may migrate to Grand Canyon now and then. Normally, this couple with perhaps several of their adult children and their families, are absent from Supai only about four months.

Maturity of the pinion nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinion forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinion harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the eleven Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included

overseas service for some of them. However, ten of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their pre-war residence and employment patterns. A brief interest in a Christian church, shown by two or three of them, apparently flickered out. An exception who did not settle in Supai was a man, married to a Yavapai girl who had lived in her community prior to the war, and who returned there. Only one veteran took advantage of the veterans' educational program. Leaving his wife and small son, he attended Haskell Institute in Lincoln, Nebraska for the academic year of 1950-51, specializing in masonry.

In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family forty acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional twenty acres (Kelly, 1953, p. 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men have settled on these land allottments. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent, simply could not be persuaded to consider moving away from Supai.

The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. A sizeable proportion of the arable acreage is not utilized due to the small

size of individual plots. Almost always a family's holding consists of several patches of land scattered in different parts of the canyon, a consequence of the manner in which land is inherited or is distributed as a need arises. Fences and ditches on the periphery of each field occupy a strip of ground about three feet in width. Attempts to persuade tribal members to throw individual plots into a tribal cooperative farming program have met with very limited success. Removal of fences to facilitate use of modern farm methods no doubt suggests to land owners a possible loss of title to land or reduction in acreage of lands they claim.

Land ownership is a source of frequent controversy between Havasupai individuals. In this investigator's understanding, the Indian Service recognizes no clear legal title of an individual to a plot of land, considering instead that an individual has a right to use the land which it regards as tribally owned. On the other hand, the Indian Service recognizes individual ownership of houses on the land.

In recent years the Havasupai tribe has received, on loan from governmental sources, a sum of money which has been invested in a Havasupai Development Enterprise, a tribal cooperative program to aid in development of tribal resources, consisting of farm lands and a scenic area, and their need for a grocery store and a source of monetary income to individual families were factors determining program organization. Accordingly, the enterprise was divided into three activities, a tourist enterprise, a buying enterprise (operation of a store),

and a farming enterprise (development of farm lands and methods, and tribal purchase of a tractor to be rented by individuals). Subsidiary to these three activities, a packing enterprise facilitates their operation and also provides some income for reservation families (O. G. Barnard, 1951, personal interview).

XII. POPULATION DEFINITION

Census data. Census reports by Anglo-American visitors to Supai prior to 1897 placed the Havasupai population variously from two hundred to three hundred. Spier states that the population probably did not exceed 250, and certainly not three hundred. He based this estimate on early census reports and limitation of farm lands (Spier, 1928, p. 98). There was a reported decrease in population from 237 in 1903 to 174 in 1905, the result of a measles epidemic. Spier (1928, p. 98) found 177 Havasupai in 1919.

Kelly (1953, p.15) gives Havasupai population as 235. However, in a prefatory statement he explains that most of the population figures in his report are approximations or are based upon incomplete reporting. Kelly's total is, however, somewhat higher than the 1950 United States Census total of 209 reported here on authority of O. G. Barnard, a former agent, and of literature distributed by the Havasupai tribal council.

Data used in the following presentation are based exclusively upon: (1) information recorded by this investigator

in 1950, 1951, and 1952 in personal interviews with the Havasupai, which consist of census data, genealogical charts, and tabulations of all living individuals and many deceased tribal members by family groups with dates on births, deaths, and marriages so far as possible; (2) records of births, deaths, and marriages submitted in personal communications from Miss Laetitia Viele, resident missionary and, since 1952, Local Registrar of Vital Statistics for the Havasupai tribe; (3) information submitted in personal communications from Arthur Victor Collins, resident agent at Supai since 1951, and from his wife, Marian Collins, day school teacher in 1951-52, and from 1952 until 1954, Home Guidance Program supervisor; and (4) information submitted in personal communications from several Havasupai correspondents, notably, Virginia Siyuja, Annabelle and Jack Jones, and Edith and Marian Putesoy.

Residence and cultural affiliation. Tribal population[3] includes 337 individuals of Havasupai descent. Records of intertribal mating, although incomplete, reveal admixture with the Walapai tribe and, in lesser frequency, with the

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[3] Population totals have been adjusted in accordance with adult deaths occurring to the present time, but deaths of young children, births, and marriages occurring after June, 1954 have not been accounted for because such data for the following period are incomplete.

Paiute, Yavapai, and western pueblo tribes. The above total includes individuals whose ancestry reveals intertribal mating.

Residence appears to be the primary factor in determining cultural affiliation. Distribution by residence of individuals of Havasupai descent is shown on Table I, (p. 43). When the total of 337 persons of Havasupai descent is adjusted in terms of residence as illustrated by Table II (p. 44), Havasupai population is reduced to 254 individuals, this figure representing only those individuals whose present residence makes possible Havasupai cultural affiliation. The latter total excludes seventeen adults of Havasupai descent and cultural background who are married intertribally and are affiliated by residence with the tribal and cultural group of their spouses. It also excludes an illegitimate child of unmixed Havasupai descent who is affiliated by residence with the tribal and cultural group of her step-father.

The culturally defined Havasupai population is concentrated primarily on the reservation in Havasu Canyon and in the area of Grand Canyon village on the plateau.

Permanent residents of the Havasupai Reservation include 158 individuals. However, only half or two thirds of these persons might be present on the reservation at any one time with the possible exception of a few days in late summer when a circle dance and rodeo are held, or of some other special occasion.

TABLE I

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY RESIDENCE,
INCLUDING ALL INDIVIDUALS OF
HAVASUPAI DESCENT
1954-55

Place of residence	Individuals
Havasupai Reservation (Supai)	156
Grand Canyon and plateau area	65
Colorado River Irrigation Project	20
Walapai Reservation and other Walapai residential areas	65
Other reservations or tribal residential areas	15
Anglo-American towns	16
Total individuals of Havasupai descent	337

TABLE II

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY RESIDENCE, INCLUDING INDIVIDUALS OF PRESENT AND PAST HAVASUPAI CULTURAL AFFILIATION
1954-55

Place of residence	Individuals of Havasupai cultural affiliation	
	Present	Past
Havasupai Reservation (Supai)	158	0
Grand Canyon and plateau area	68	0
Colorado River Irrigation Project	12	0
Walapai Reservation and other Walapai residential areas	0	10
Other reservations or tribal residential areas	0	7
Anglo-American towns	16	0
Total Havasupai Population	254	17

Permanent residents of the Grand Canyon area include sixty-eight individuals, but temporary residents from the reservation and elsewhere normally are present in some numbers.

Twelve persons of Havasupai cultural affiliation are distributed on farms of the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona, and sixteen others reside in Anglo-American towns in Arizona. Individuals in the latter two categories are included in the total population of Havasupai cultural affiliation on the basis that (1) until very recent years they were permanent residents of the reservation or of Grand Canyon, (2) they have established affiliation with no other Indian cultural group by their present residence, and (3) they are bound to their Havasupai cultural group by land ownership on the reservation and/or kinship with parents or siblings living on the reservation or at Grand Canyon.

Intratribal and intertribal marriage. Intertribal marriages involving individuals of Havasupai cultural affiliation number twenty-three in comparison with thirty-five intratribal marriages. Sixteen intertribal marriages are with Walapai spouses, three are with Yavapai spouses, and other marriages include one each with spouses of Hopi, Hopi-Zuni, Laguna, and California Mission Indian affiliation as shown in Table III (p. 46). Thus, in the culturally defined Havasupai population, a percentage of approximately two thirds of all intertribal marriages are with the Walapai. This Havasupai preference for Walapai spouses is not

TABLE III

HAVASUPAI INTRATRIBAL AND
INTERTRIBAL MARRIAGES
1954-55

Type of Marriage		Number of Marriages
Intratribal marriages		35
Intertribal marriages		23
Walapai spouses	16	
Yavapai spouses	3	
Hopi spouse	1	
Hopi-Zuni spouse	1	
Laguna spouse	1	
California mission Indian spouse	1	
Total intertribal marriages	23	
Total intratribal and intertribal marriages		58

surprising in view of cultural similarity, friendly relations, and proximity of the two tribes.

Among the twenty-three Havasupai individuals who made intertribal marriages, fifteen are of unmixed Havasupai descent, four are Havasupai-Walapai, three are Havasupai-Paiute, and one is Havasupai-Yavapai.

By comparison, among the seventy Havasupai individuals who married within their tribe, forty-nine are of unmixed Havasupai descent, sixteen are Havasupai-Paiute, and five are Havasupai-Walapai.

Thus, forty-nine persons of unmixed Havasupai descent married intratribally in contrast to fifteen who married intertribally. Twenty-one persons whose ancestry shows intertribal mating married intratribally in contrast to eight who married intertribally. These figures suggest that a proportion slightly above three fourths of Havasupai whose ancestry shows intertribal mating marry within their cultural group while a proportion slightly below three fourths of Havasupai whose ancestry shows no intertribal mating marry within their cultural group.

This narrow margin favoring greater frequency of intertribal marriage among persons of unmixed Havasupai descent than among persons whose ancestry shows intertribal mating scarcely indicates a trend. Also, it should be borne in mind that further investigation probably would reveal a greater percentage of Havasupai persons whose ancestry shows intertribal mating than present records reveal. This would

reduce the proportion of persons of unmixed Havasupai descent in the marriage population, thus resulting in a reverse of the margin suggested above toward greater frequency of intratribal marriage for individuals whose ancestry shows intertribal mating. This would be consistent with the premise that residence is the determining factor in cultural affiliation.

Residence of Havasupai who marry into other tribal groups may prove important relevant to possible changes in Havasupai tribal genetic resources.

Residence, in approximately three fourths of intertribal marriages involving persons of Havasupai descent and cultural background, is with the cultural group of the non-Havasupai spouse. In the contemporary Havasupai residential marriage population, the only non-Havasupai spouses contributing to the Havasupai tribal genetic pool are four Walapai spouses.

Plainly then, potential influence of intertribal marriage upon Havasupai genetic composition is minimized by the change of residence which accompanies it. The Havasupai individual who joins his spouse's group contributes his genes to a foreign population rather than adding new genes to Havasupai genetic resources.

However, new genetic resources, which become available by intertribal marriage coupled with Havasupai residence, are disseminated within a large proportion of the tribal population in a few generations, a result of tribal inbreeding.

This is illustrated by a recorded case of intertribal marriage between Chief Manakaja and a Paiute woman, both now deceased. Their descendants, including members of five successive generations in the contemporary Havasupai residential and cultural population, number sixty-one individuals. Thus, an infusion of new gene resources from one intertribal marriage in the Havasupai residential group has resulted in the presence of new genetic combinations in approximately one fourth of the contemporary Havasupai culturally defined population. This proportion of genetic dissemination has occurred over a span of seventy years, beginning with birth of the original Paiute wife's first child in 1885.

Although intermarriage is prohibited between close relatives, it necessarily occurs between more distant relatives. In aboriginal times, significant frequency of intertribal contact, except with the Walapai tribe, was limited by distance and mode of travel.

This factor, coupled with the small Havasupai population, made it mathematically and biologically difficult to avoid inbreeding of available genetic resources.

However, indications are that the Havasupai genetic breeding population had, as a secondary resource, the Walapai tribe, or more particularly, the easternmost Walapai bands or sub-tribes which shared camp locations and social activities with the Havasupai group. Present records show a high rate of Havasupai intermarriage with the Walapai. If the present rate of intermarriage occurred in past generations,

a considerable proportion of admixture must be present in both contemporary tribal groups. Despite the high frequency of Walapai residence for such intermarried couples, the contribution of new genetic combinations from the Walapai population should be significant in terms of delaying the rate or attenuating the degree of Havasupai inbreeding.

Mating with tribes other than the Walapai no doubt has increased in the last half century. Predisposing factors may include: (1) intertribal association in boarding schools at ages favorable to forming emotional and marital attachments, (2) intertribal contacts in employment situations at Grand Canyon and in other dominantly Anglo-American communities, (3) greater frequency of intertribal contacts in tribal or Anglo-American social situations, (4) contact with individuals from tribes outside the prehistoric trade and warfare range due to greater mobility, and (5) decrease in significance of intertribal cultural barriers due to influence of the encompassing Anglo-American neighborhood which serves as a cultural common denominator.

Intertribal mating as recorded for the contemporary population of Havasupai descent shown on Table IV (p. 52), includes mixture with the Walapai, Paiute, Yavapai, Hopi, Zuni, and Laguna tribes, and possibly with a Mexican source. However, the only Havasupai individuals whose ancestry shows intertribal mating included in the present marriage population are persons of Walapai, Paiute, and Yavapai mixture.

No individual, whose known ancestry includes intertribal mixture other than the above, has yet reached marriageable age. This fact, in itself, suggests that intertribal marriage is increasing. It also may illustrate that ancestry showing intertribal mating tends to be overlooked for members of the Havasupai cultural group. This becomes increasingly evident as an individual of mixed tribal ancestry advances in years. It is also true in regard to firstborn illegitimate children of questionable or unknown paternity whose mothers retain Havasupai cultural affiliation by intratribal marriage.

Household residential distribution on the reservation. Residential mobility which amounts to a pattern for the Havasupai tribe may be observed in households located in Havasu Canyon.

In July, 1951, the investigator made a census on the Havasupai reservation, listing by name all persons then present in each familial camp group, including permanent residents, temporary guests (such as children being cared for by grandparents while their parents were employed off the reservation), and visiting relatives or friends from outside the reservation. For comparison, a second census was made about six weeks later in August, 1951, and a third census was taken in December, 1951. In the following presentation, temporary guests in a household are counted as permanent reservation residents if they normally reside in another household on the reservation.

TABLE IV

CONTEMPORARY INDIVIDUALS OF
HAVASUPAI DESCENT AND OF
MIXED TRIBAL DESCENT
1954-55

Combinations resulting from Intertribal mating	Individuals
Havasupai	162
Havasupai-Walapai	81
Havasupai-Walapai-Laguna	4
Havasupai-Walapai-Hopi	1
Havasupai-Walapai-Mexican(?)	1
Havasupai-Walapai-Paiute	21
Havasupai-Paiute	54
Havasupai-Paiute-Unknown	1
Havasupai-Paiute-Yavapai	3
Havasupai-Yavapai	1
Havasupai-Hopi	7
Havasupai-Hopi-Zuni	1
Total population of Havasupai and of Mixed tribal Descent	337

In July, 1951, 128 permanent residents were living in twenty-six camps, giving a mean residence distribution figure of 4.9 persons for each familial household. Nine children from the Walapai reservation and from an Anglo-American town were visiting relatives, six being with grandparents and three with an aunt.

In August, 1951, residential changes had occurred in all but thirteen camp groups, and in several of these, guests had arrived or departed. Visitors totaled fourteen persons, including sisters, nieces, nephews, grandchildren, and more distant relatives of their hosts. The August total included 113 persons living in twenty-seven camps, thus making a distribution mean of 4.2 individuals in each household.

In December, 1951, only three households remained unchanged. Opportunity to harvest pinion nuts on the plateau occasioned the absence of three entire camp groups while two families had just returned from the pinion area. A majority of older children were attending boarding schools. Two Havasupai men, married to Walapai wives and both said normally to spend winters in Peach Springs and summers in Supai, were present. Four deaths had occurred, including a six-months-old infant, a man of seventy-six, a woman of thirty-five, and a man of fifty-two years. The latter two persons each left dependent children who immediately were attached to other households on a temporary or permanent basis.

The December residence group showed seventy-eight persons living in twenty-one camps, a household residence mean of 3.7 persons.

The winter residence group, although perhaps smaller than usual because of the pinion harvest which occurs every two or three years and is limited to about two months, is normally smaller than the summer residence group. Although a number of persons seek summer employment off the reservation, they come and go at irregular intervals so that not all of them are absent at one time. The number of persons who are absent in summer while working is not so great as the number of persons who depart in winter to live elsewhere, to seek employment while fields need no attention, or to visit friends or relatives.

On the reservation a permanent population of 158 persons occupies twenty-eight camps, making a household residence mean of 5.6 persons. However, as previously stated and as indicated by three census reports, not all permanent residents are likely to be present at one time except on special occasions. The three household residence means for July, August, and December, 1951, thus present a truer picture of household population than does the mean computed for the total permanent reservation population.

The census records, taken within a period of six months, effectively illustrate the amount and frequency of change in household residence groups. Change in size and composition of household groups thus constitutes a regular and predictable

pattern of residential mobility within the Havasupai social group. This is reflected further in a pattern of residential mobility for the Havasupai tribal population as a unit. This pattern of mobility appears to be a continuation of habitual, semi-nomadic residence changes associated with Havasupai aboriginal hunting-gathering-farming economy.

XIII. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chieftainship. Leadership formerly rested with chiefs who achieved office through inheritance or personal merit. Chiefs had no power to command; rather, they acted as advisers and leaders. Observation, during the last five years, suggests that in aboriginal days, the number of chiefs recognized at a particular time may have depended upon the number of persons in the tribe who possessed requisite attributes. Succession of chiefs is not automatic and does not necessarily follow immediately upon death of a chief. A period of months or even years may elapse before tribal opinion becomes united upon a successor. In general, succession was said formerly to be hereditary, not necessarily by rule of primogeniture although that was favored, but in a family line including brothers or nearest male relatives of a chief, among whom a mature (usually middle-aged) man, best qualified or of most persuasive and dominant personality, was likely to emerge as popular choice.

Spier (1928, p. 237) described six chiefs in 1919, one of whom was recognized as head chief. When the present

tribal constitution was adopted three chieftainships were abolished, and three hereditary chiefs, who were selected from the six recognized at that time, were chosen to serve as regular members of the tribal council from that time until their death.

A rule of succession by inheritance formerly was modified in practice by consideration both of a candidate's closeness of relationship to the deceased chief and his personal attributes. Succession now is subject to approval by vote of the other chiefs on the tribal council. However, the idea of succession by inheritance is strong enough that, although it is implied rather than stated in the tribal constitution, all candidates for succession in recent years have been relatives, not necessarily in a direct line, of the deceased chief.

In a recent example, hereditary successor to a chief was his brother's son, the man being of no strong leadership potentialities. Several other male relatives of proper qualifications, experienced in leadership on the tribal council, appeared to contest succession of the nephew. After two years of dispute and stalemate, the nephew was recognized as chief. It is extremely doubtful that he would have won against his more aggressive rivals in an earlier day.

In another case, successor to the position of head chief was an eldest son of only sixteen years. The tradition of inheritance within the tribe, although succession is

subject to approval by the other chiefs, was strong enough to place this boy in his father's position, although a decision wasn't definitely agreed upon for about two years. However, in practice he had no voice in tribal leadership because of his immaturity, and there was widespread dissatisfaction over having to be, in effect, without a head chief for the fifteen or more years deemed necessary for this boy to qualify in wisdom and experience to exercise his office. Eventually, an advisor was appointed to serve with (in fact, for)him. The man chosen as adviser happens to be a paternal relative, but more important, he is a shaman and a strong personality in the tribe, a defeated contender for succession to another chieftainship several years previously who still feels that the position rightfully belongs to him. Since he is past seventy, his election as adviser to the head chief virtually insures him the authority and prestige of that office for the remainder of his life.

Constitution and tribal council. In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and by-laws drawn up legally on a pattern suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of their constitution, a tribal council replaced the former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman, and a council secretary may be appointed by council members from their number or from outside the council.

The tribal council aims toward monthly meetings, but in practice, the schedule is sometimes irregular. Only a few individuals appear much interested in serving as members. A general attitude of indifference toward any kind of leadership or expression of personal initiative in public affairs seemingly prevails among many of the men, due in part possibly to a dislike of sacrificing personal freedom to assume such duties.

The council serves in both public and private affairs, acting as a governing body, with the resident agent serving in an advisory capacity. However, decisions made by the council may not always be acknowledged by both parties to a quarrel; notably, certain land disputes have continued after an original decision and consideration of an appeal. The people apparently still think of the council in the same terms they formerly applied to chiefs who could advise and suggest but could seldom if ever impose their will upon the people.

Bands and local groups. In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

On authority of one informant, it is reported that the Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of these local groups included a

number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in semi-nomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. This report indicates that unrelated families camped together fortuitously and temporarily; no particular association was perpetuated by unrelated families, although the eastern and western local groups are said to have been made up of particular family groups. Further information in regard to possible marriage rules or other social or political functions of the two local groups unfortunately has not been obtained.

It seems clear that this was a political division with two or more chiefs in each group rather than a sociological separation of groups of related families sharing any notion of common descent such as might be suspected in an incipient clan organization. However, this subject is open to further research and checking with other informants before a conclusive statement can be made.

XIV. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship system. The Havasupai kinship system is classificatory. The only terms of a particularistic nature are some of those designating the more immediate relationships such as father, mother, wife, husband, a man's son, a man's daughter, and a woman's child.

Informants had difficulty in giving many kinship terms for relatives more distant than those once removed from themselves. Younger informants (less than forty or

forty-five) apparently knew few kinship terms and older informants had to consult among themselves. The common use of Havasupai "joking" names or Anglo-American given names in both address and reference minimizes general knowledge and use of kinship terms. Spier (1928, p. 214) noted the same infrequent use prior to 1920. A term for father, da'la, not recorded by Spier now is in common usage. Several couples among younger parents teach their children to use Anglo-American forms of parental address, most commonly mama and daddy, or papa. Many children also address their parents by their English personal names and usually refer to them by this name.

The Havasupai kinship system employs seven principles of kinship distinction among the original eight described by Kroeber (1909, p.p. 77-84). The Havasupai system makes use of the following categories of relationship: (1) the difference between persons of the same and of separate generations; (2) the difference between lineal and collateral relationships; (3) difference of age within one generation; (4) the sex of the relative; (5) the sex of the speaker; (6) the sex of the person through whom relationship exists; (7) the distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage; and (8) the condition of life of the person through whom relationship exists.

There appear to be no special behavior patterns dictated by kinship for any two classes of relatives. Spier (1928, p. 221) noted the same condition, pointing out as

the only exceptions "the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates."

The practices of matrilocal and patrilocal residence raise a question regarding lack of specific kinship terms for affinal relatives. Spier (1928, p. 221), stating that "there is little recognition of relatives by marriage," reports use of only three general terms under which are lumped daughter's husband, wife's parent, son's wife, wife of all other relatives except son, husband of all relatives except daughter, wife's brother, and wife's grandparents. It seems strange that there should be no specific kinship designations for persons who traditionally would be in the same household residence group. Nearly all terms given above would be used in matrilocal residence, and corresponding terms used in patrilocal residence are absent for all but two categories. This may suggest that matrilocal residence was once preferred over patrilocal residence. However, respect and duty attitudes between in-laws are not formally dictated by the culture; the presence or absence of friendliness between in-laws sharing residence appears to be an individual affair. Perhaps the use of personal names in preference to kinship terms between relatives by marriage merely reflects the characteristic cultural attitude of casualness and informality in Havasupai behavior.

Genetic relationship is defined by the Havasupai in terms reflecting comprehension of biological connections.

Marriage is regulated by recognition of genetic relationship which prohibits "close relatives" from marriage. Relationship is not overlooked in either maternal or paternal connections to permit or favor marriage between certain categories of relatives. In the vernacular, genetic connection is defined as any "blood relationship" existing between two persons who are descended from a common ancestor remembered or known of by living persons.

However, the social definition of genetic relationship falters by treating the fictitious relationship of adoption as though it were genetic. In one example of sociological definition taking precedence over known biological facts, a man of illegitimate birth is treated, in questions of marriage, as though his sociological father were his genetic father. Two of his children have been prohibited from marriage with spouses whose only connection to them was through their father's sociological father.

Family. Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In practice of recent years, comparatively few family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed depending largely on personal preference or circumstances.

Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a female who serves as cook. Composition of

family units or camp groups is constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and t emporary matrilocal residence still are in limited praetice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by nuclear family units. This may be the result of Anglo-American influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was. This applies to children in particular and to women in a modified sense.

Economic activities formerly necessitated delegation of much parental responsibility for child care and training to other persons. Although parents now have more time free from economic pursuits, there seems to be no corresponding concentration upon, or concern with, problems of child training. Like all older generations, the Havasupai report that their children are less disciplined, less respectful of their elders, less observant of premarital sexual prohibitions, and in most ways, short of the cultural ideal attained by, or thought to have been imposed upon preceding generations.

Clans. Although Spier (1922, p. 487) doubts that

partrilineal gentes would arise among the Havasupai because of their acquaintance with Hopi and Navaho emphasis upon a matrilineal kinship system, he postulates the origin of a patrilineal clan organization among them under certain conditions. This might occur, he suggests, "by (1) an emphasis on land inheritance furthering the tracing of the paternal lineage, (2) regularity of patrilocal residence on family lands fixing patrilineal group affiliation, and (3) the extension of kinship recognition in the father's line."

Service (1947, pp. 362-66) supports Spier's theory of an incipient clan system among the Havasupai, noting, however, that a "unilinear lineage" system could evolve only with population growth and a corresponding acquisition of agricultural land. He suggests that Spier's second condition has occurred, that is, "an increase in male prominence with regularity in patrilocal residence." Patrilineal inheritance of land seems correlated with this, Service writes, but it has not led to increased awareness of patrilineal kindred.

Service analyzes land tenure, concluding that Havasupai land ownership constitutes public recognition of the right to use of land. This definition of land ownership agrees with Spier's observation. Spier writes, "Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable" (Spier, 1928, p. 231).

Land inheritance, Service states, although predominantly patrilineal, rests primarily upon degree of an heir's relationship to the deceased, and upon the heir's merit and need, either of which may override closeness of relationship. These three concepts, Service believes, operate to nullify unqualified patrilineal inheritance in deference to a strong sense of community rights in land.

Trends recently observed among the Havasupai corroborate Spier's statement that emergence of a clan system is unlikely. Knowledge of matrilineal clans among the Navaho and Hopi may have operated as a negative influence against establishment of patrilineal clans among the Havasupai under aboriginal conditions. However, present Anglo-American influence, which is more directly focused upon them and which seemingly poses a threat to independent cultural and economic continuation of the Havasupai tribal unit, now may be a greater inhibiting factor to their development of a clan system.

Traditional Havasupai residential mobility and present Anglo-American economic and social pressures together operate to minimize regularity in residence patterns of the Havasupai on their reservation, thus countering a prerequisite condition in Spier's theoretical application to them of clan origin and establishment.

Also, major emphasis in the dominant Anglo-American culture is upon individual adaptation and activity, in brief, upon an individual's interests rather than upon group

consciousness. This apparently is no foreign concept to Havasupai economy for aboriginal survival was achieved in small family units. An illustration of Havasupai orientation favoring individual interests over community interest occurred a few years ago. Indian Service personnel endeavored to gain tribal support of a plan to pool all farm lands in a cooperative farming enterprise. The purpose was, in part to increase acreage under cultivation by elimination of land wasted in fences and ditches. However, the plan met with indifference or refusal; Havasupai farmers feared losing land footage if a later attempt were made to reestablish private field boundaries, and they also feared losing title to their fields. Havasupai families still meet economic problems on an individual, rather than a community basis. Orientation of Havasupai individuals thus is focused upon competitive existence within their own economic system or in the Anglo-American economy.

Lineages. Although further development of aboriginal incipient clans seems unlikely, it may be that Anglo-American influence will result in establishment of lineages among the Havasupai. (Recognition of descent of related persons from a known ancestor constitutes a lineage.)

Spier (1922, p. 487) points out, in agreement with Boas (1916, p. 326), that in a population there is a trend toward reduction of the number of biological groups present, and also a trend toward reduction of the number of named groups, the latter being affiliated by unilateral descent.

Use of surnames, coupled with reduction in biological groups within the Havasupai tribe, within a few more generations may result in survival of perhaps no more than half a dozen differently named family lines. Already, six or seven family groups are becoming dominant in numbers among the Havasupai while others are disappearing.

Havasupai emphasis upon prohibition of marriage to known relatives may result in lineage exogamy. Use of surnames is a clue to relationship which the Havasupai at present do not overlook. However, there has been no test case known to the investigator in which two people sharing the same name have tried to marry. Usually, adult individuals sharing the same name are not far enough removed from the common progenitor with whom the name originated to have any doubt that they are related. In working out a genealogical chart, however, it becomes evident that certain relationships are forgotten while others of a similar degree of removal are remembered; in the first instance, marriage may occur, while in the second instance it is forbidden.

It is obvious to an observer that individuals whose names are now used as surnames tend to be remembered more clearly than do other members of the same generation whose names have not been passed on. Therefore, if individuals as close perhaps as third or fourth cousins were not reminded, by the sharing of a common name, of that particular genetic connection, marriage might occur.

Use of family surnames among the Havasupai began when

their reservation was established. Commonly, Indian names of individuals in the senior generation were bestowed upon young adults and children by Indian Service personnel for convenience in noting family connections on agency and school records. A few families perpetuating such names now are in the fifth or sixth generations of descent. Use of a surname which belonged to a known progenitor serves to remind a family of its identification with that individual. It eclipses importance of known progenitors in other antecedent lines who were contemporary with the ancestor whose name is perpetuated. Also, it seemingly defines a family's genesis from the original name owner.

Service states that the "white name" is often changed. While certain name changes have occurred, they are uniformly adopted by an entire family, and such changes as are made, clearly result from Anglo-American influence. The most recent change was from Burro to Tilousi, Burro having originated with a Captain Burro. Several changes have been from Havasupai names to Anglo-American names; for example, changes from Mulgullo to Marshall, from Banya to Jones, from Navaho to Clinton, from Toup to Rogers, and from Gatagama to Crook (in honor of General Crook). Other changes have been in the form of abbreviation or simplification such as substitution of Chick for Chickepaniga and Jack for Mexican Jack. The original names are remembered and continue in use to some extent for some time after a family adopts a new name, especially in reference to a senior family member.

At present, of twenty-seven different name-bearing Havasupai families, eight have no male heir in the younger generation. Of this number, two names are borne only by living females while five names belong to elderly males, including a husband of an old woman, three widowers, and one bachelor, none of these men being likely to father legitimate children. The one remaining name belongs to a middle-aged husband of a young, but as yet childless wife. Two of these eight family names are borne by Molly Mulgullo and Roger Toup, both senior members of families in which all other members have uniformly adopted an Anglo-American name. However, Roger Toup's descendants perpetuate his name by adoption of Rogers as a surname.

A cursory glance at records reveals that, in recent years, at least six other names have disappeared from the tribe. Population data already presented show that intertribal marriage usually leads to residence away from the Havasupai cultural group, and, in cases of Supai residence by a spouse from another tribe, it is almost always a wife who joins the group. Only one case to the contrary exists at present, a Walapai husband having added his name to the tribal roster by adopting Havasupai residence.

Among the nineteen Havasupai families which have males in the younger generation, four families are represented by only one young male and three families are represented by two young males, one family in the latter category including a young man married for ten years to a childless wife.

Certain families are much more prolific than others. The largest family has thirty-two living male and female members, while six other families have twenty-four, eighteen, seventeen, fourteen, fourteen, and twelve members respectively. In addition, seventeen families are represented by nine or fewer members.

Thus it is clear that the Havasupai tribe is being reduced in the number of biological groups present. Further, the use of family surnames emphasizes this in a way that the tribal members themselves must become aware of within a short time.

It is obvious also that the reduction in biological groups, which occurs through variation of fertility ratios within families, will reduce the Havasupai tribe to relatively few different family names.

A Havasupai lineage system, in accordance with present tradition, probably would be paternal. Families who are descended from brothers, or other recognized close relatives, are practicing exogamy. For example, the Watahomigie, Wescogame, and Siyuja (modern spelling) families do not intermarry because they originated from three brothers. Should this tradition be carried on, along with the present trend toward reduction in genetic groups, that is, in lineages, the group from which marriage partners may be selected will shrink accordingly. In addition, recognition of maternal relatives to four or five degrees of removal, may place all or nearly all persons within the tribe in recognized related families. At the present time, there are individuals in the

tribe who have an extremely small group of unrelated persons from which a marriage partner may be chosen. Unrelated families may not include marriageable persons.

Obviously, such a condition would result in no marriage, an increase in intertribal marriage, a change of marriage rules to include some form of preferential marriage between relatives, or in a combination of these adaptations.

It may be predicted that, within the following generations, as reduction of biological groups is occurring, Anglo-American acculturation and intertribal contact will also be progressing. Under these conditions a continued trend may be expected toward resettlement of Havasupai families in Anglo-American communities along with a continued increase in intertribal marriage. Thus, if lineages crystallize and become socially significant, they may be a predisposing factor to acceleration of acculturation, and perhaps to biological and cultural assimilation of the Havasupai tribe by Anglo-American and other tribal groups.

XV. RELIGION

Havasupai religion finds expression in the songs and simple ritual of the sweatbath, in mythology, and in a body of traditional folk beliefs, as it does also in funeral customs, and in shamanistic practices. Although religious ideology and ceremony are weakly developed, orientation toward the natural world and explanation of certain phenomena pertaining to man and his environment is primarily in religious terms.

Spier (1928, p. 289) classed the Havasupai with the Great Basin tribes in meagerness of religious development. He states that they resembled both the "Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism." Spier reports that they resemble the Southwestern tribes only by their infrequent use of prayer plumes and in prayers for rain and crop fertility. Traditional killing of an unsuccessful shaman he likens to the lower Colorado tribes.

Spier (1928, p. 276) reports identification of two gods, "Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky," and "Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die;" the former apparently an earlier concept native to the Havasupai, and the latter the Anglo-American god, whom Manakaja identified for Spier with Dudjipa, one of the two culture heros. The description of Pagiyova given by two medicine men to this investigator showed considerable Anglo-American influence. One of them, who saw Pagiyova in two dream experiences, described the long, white robes, "skin like a white man," and other details common in so many representations of Christ. There seems to be no clear agreement or even a clear notion among laymen as to the nature and attributes of the Havasupai deity.

One shaman insisted, on one occasion, that Pagiyova is the only Havasupai god. Later, when asked if he had heard of Pagiyoga he conceded that the two names must apply to the same deity. He added that Pagiyova comes after a spirit when

a man dies. This informant became a shaman because Pagiova wanted him to do so and not because he had wanted it himself. On the two occasions when he beheld Pagiova in dreams, the deity did not see the shaman at first, but when he saw the shaman looking at him, he disappeared. Pagiova has never spoken to this shaman. (It was not learned how this shaman discerned what Pagiova wanted him to do.) A second shaman reported a dream of Pagiova in which he beheld only the deity's hand as it was extended from a door of the tall building in which Pagiova lives.

Shamanism. Spier (1928, p. 277) named three types of shamans, a curing shaman, a weather shaman, and a specialist in treating "fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc." There has been no shaman of the latter two types in recent years. Rock Jones who died about 1930 was the last weather shaman. Although it is casually observed by his relatives that one of them may yet inherit Rock's power, the need for a weather shaman to bring rain is difficult to visualize today when the Havasupai have abandoned life on the plateau and are settled in a place where water is always available and where floods have caused considerable destruction over the last half century. Rather, the need appears to be for a means to stop rain, a power which pregnant women alone possess. There is little occasion for hunting deer, and the need for one who specializes in fractures, wounds, and snake bites is on the wane, Anglo-American doctors being almost invariably sought for such treatment.

Shamans, who are the specialists in religious affairs, have more detailed knowledge concerning the supernatural than do laymen, but the primary role of a shaman is that of medical practitioner. Traditionally, a Havasupai shaman uses the sucking technique, applying his mouth directly to a critical part of a patient's anatomy from which a foreign object, said to cause illness may be extracted. However, at the present time, the shaman who commands greatest respect uses his hand rather than his mouth "because his familiar spirit directed him to do it that way." A shaman may inherit his power, in the manner of personal property, from a relative, but whether or not he inherits some, a shaman also must acquire power through his own dreams. At present, there are three shamans among the Havasupai, all of whom are curing shamans. Until the death of Thomas Yunosi in March, 1955, there had been four shamans in the tribe for a number of years.

Havasupai laymen acknowledge that Anglo-American doctors are superior for certain types of medical care. There remains, however, one type of illness which the shaman treats more successfully than does a medical doctor who would fail to diagnose it properly. This is "Indian sickness," an illness which results from seeing a ghost, from dreaming of the dead, or from efforts made by a ghost (usually a recently deceased relative of the patient) who is seeking a relative to accompany him to the world of the dead.

Ghosts. Fear of ghosts is strongly developed.

Adults do not like to leave their camps alone after dark; in practice, however, adults leave their camps alone after dark for various reasons. One shaman reported that shamans frequently see ghosts or dream of them, and that nearly all other Havasupai see a ghost at one time or another. Ghost fear is intensified immediately following the death of a relative; the ghost is believed to remain for some time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they do not see him. Sight of a ghost is said to cause illness and may be fatal. However, a young man suffered no ill effects after, as he later reported, he beheld the ghost of the dead man dancing beside him in the funeral dance all through the night, and in the morning again saw the dead man's ghost standing above the flames when his personal possessions and clothing gifts were burned in a pit. Ghost and spirit are used interchangeably, spirit, however, most often being used in reference to the living as a synonym for soul.

Ghost dance. Mooney (1896, p. 785) reported that the Havasupai obtained the ghost dance directly from the Paiute apostles of Wovoka, but he was unable to describe the form it took among them beyond "the general fact that the resurrection and return of the dead formed the principle tenet" and an assumption that "they made but few changes in or additions to the original gospel."

According to one informant, Chief Navaho was the Havasupai who first heard of the ghost dance from the Walapai

who, in turn, were told by the Paiute. Chief Navaho was told that the dead were going to return to the Walapai reservation so he, Bert Wescogame, and Chief Watahomigie went to meet the Havasupai dead. From Walapai land, they crossed the Colorado River and traveled on horseback to the Shivwits Paiute village near St. George, Utah. During their month's absence, they learned two or three ghost dance songs in the Paiute language. One informant associated the ghost dance with the Havasupai change from cremation to burial. About that time, he related, the people had heard that if the dead were buried instead of cremated, they would come to life again. (Perhaps this reflected Anglo-American pressure to abandon the custom of cremation because of the Christian concept of resurrection.) The Havasupai, in ghost dance theory, were to bury their dead and sing a certain ghost dance song over the grave, then the dead would "come alive." The informant added with a twinkle in his eye that he hasn't seen "any dead person come around yet, alive again."

After the Havasupai delegation returned from interviewing the Shivwits Paiute, four dances were held. These were circle dances with the same step now used, the dancers moving to the left around a center pole. Participants would continue until they fell exhausted "like drunk or dead," but the informant denied that anyone in this condition had dreams or saw spirits of the dead. He also stated that there was no notion of trying to drive the white man away by practicing the ghost dance. The first dance was held in the fall in

Havasu Canyon near Louis Sinyella's present home. A second was held "when it was snowing" on the site where the first day school later was built at the canyon head. The Havasupai danced a third time that winter at Drift Fence on the plateau, and the last dance was a month later at Black Tank. Each dance lasted only one night until about midnight. The entire tribe had assembled at Black Tank, and following the dance, thirty or forty people, both adults and children, became ill, and many of them died. One informant suggested that the illness was caused by ghosts of the dead "witching them." Very likely the predominant Havasupai fear of ghosts, which conflicted with the ghost dance purpose, produced a feeling of uneasiness among the people. The Paiute ghost dance songs were never sung again.

The informant went on to explain that the Havasupai, prior to the ghost dance, always had held a circle dance in Havasu Canyon about August or when the fruit ripened. It was called by no special name, he said, but the season when it was held probably prompted the white people to name it a peach or harvest dance.

Originally, the circle dance was held three nights until midnight and a fourth night until dawn. Many Hopi and Navaho came with jewelry, blankets, and other things to trade. During the day, they played many games, gambled, and ran footraces. At night, the Navaho joined the circle dance, but the Hopi performed their own dances. In those days (about sixty years ago), a Havasupai family had no more than two or three

horses. It was much later that they learned rodeo riding from the white man, and about 1935 (?) the Havasupai added a rodeo to their activities at circle dance time.

Until the year of the ghost dance, the Havasupai had a set of circle dance songs which had always been used, but these are now completely forgotten.

Following the ghost dance experience, two Havasupai men, Theatjava and Gatagama, dreamed new circle dance songs, not while unconscious during a dance, but while sleeping at home, "like a medicine man dreams." After practicing their songs, Theatjava and Gatagama introduced their songs at the next circle dance. These songs are the only Havasupai songs now used in their circle dances. (The informant stated that, even after these two men started singing, the people believed for awhile that the dead would return to life.)

The songs of Theatjava and Gatagama were intelligible to all, the informant said, but now only older Havasupai understand them, the young people being able to catch only a word here and there. Subject matter of the songs was Havasupai folklore. The old stories were arranged in rhythmic form so they could be sung to the accompaniment of drums. The initial song in the "bird and fox" series by Theatjava, which is sung to begin the circle dance, tells how the bird left this world; the second song describes how the bird looked (like an eagle but much larger--it used to carry people off); etc. Other song series tell different stories.

An account of the ghost dance by another informant

described only the last three dances. She stated that the delegation to the Paiute also included Theatjava and Mike Mooney. She related that a few people became ill following the second dance, and later on both people and horses were afflicted. However, she denied that any deaths occurred. She didn't know whether the illness was an ordinary one, or was caused by the Paiute songs, "but the people thought it might be caused by the songs so they quit singing them." According to her, two years elapsed between the first and the last ghost dance.

Sweatbath complex. Two types of sweatlodges are used. The most popular is either conical or dome-shaped, the foundation being formed by poles set around a circular excavation about one foot in depth. The poles are covered with cardboard; probably in an earlier day they were covered with smaller poles set closely together. The structure is then covered with earth and thatched. A narrow entrance faces east. When the lodge is in use, the doorway is covered by four or five layers of blankets and canvases. Four or five earth-covered sweatlodges are scattered about the canyon.

Another type represented by one example and observed in use only once, is like that described and pictured by Spier (1928, p. 336). It consists of a dome framework of heavy willows arched over a shallow depression, the willows being tied together by strips of rag replacing the bark strips observed by Spier. When in use, this entire lodge is covered by several layers of blankets.

Inside a lodge, to the left of the doorway as one enters, heated rocks are placed in a slight depression. Rocks, now usually moved with a shovel, are sometimes transferred one at a time by holding them between two sticks. Stones are piled between alternate layers of wood and heated for about an hour before they are used. Twigs and leafy branches of cottonwood and willow may be spread on the floor, and sagebrush or other sweet smelling brush may be tied in a bundle from the ceiling or strewn carelessly about.

An earth-covered structure may be preferred because fewer blankets are required to cover a doorway than to cover an entire sweatlodge. An additional reason, and the one given, is that the earth-covered lodge can be heated more readily and to a higher and more sustained temperature.

Measurements taken on an earth-covered lodge gave a diameter of 2 m. Interior height from floor to apex of the ceiling was 1 m., sloping to a height of about 75 cm. above the heads of the occupants. The doorway was 53 cm. in height and the doorsill narrowed from a base width of 48 cm. to 23 cm. at the top. The firepit took up approximately 75 cm. by 50 cm. of the floor area, leaving barely enough room for four people to crowd in at one time. Diameter of foundation poles was about 6 cm.

Spier (1928, p. 337) reports that a bath in the stream and "copious draughts" of water were considered advisable preliminary to a sweatbath. This was not observed at the present time and was never suggested to this investigator, who took weekly sweatbaths.

A sweatbath usually includes four periods of ten or more minutes in the sweatlodge, although an individual may go in six or eight times. In one instance, a man mentioned that he had lost count. Between periods in the lodge, bathers rest under a nearby brush shade or a tree. After a sweatbath, participants swim in the creek, which in summer is about 65° F.

Not more than four persons enter the sweatlodge at one time; usually only two or three persons go together to permit more comfortable postures in the small lodge interior. On two occasions, temperatures were read in various parts of the lodge and at intervals of about two minutes with the aid of a flashlight. Water is sprinkled on the stones after occupants have been inside two or three minutes. Immediately after this first application of water, the temperature at head level was 118° F. The floor of the lodge near the wall was 82° F. at that time. Two minutes later, after more water had been used, the temperature was 126° F. at head level and when another cloud of steam rose from the rocks, it quickly increased to 146° F. The highest temperature noted was 158° F. at head level near the stones, but not directly above them. Temperature near chest level for the entire period in the lodge averaged 115° F. to 125° F. When the temperature registered 130° F. to 140° F. at head level, the air seemed to burn one's nostrils and lungs; and at 146° F. the air was scorching to the lungs, but occupants continued singing without interruption. At the highest temperatures,

rapid and vigorous heart beats and smothering sensations were felt; some occupants emerging from the sweatlodge were observed to have accentuated pulse beats visible in the throat. A person accustomed to taking frequent sweatbaths seems to become inured to the high temperatures. The above temperatures were taken during a day's first use of a sweatlodge, while those on another occasion as noted below were taken after the lodge had been used several times. Temperatures then averaged between 140° F. and 150° F. with a high reading of 158° F. Blankets were pulled back from the entrance only far enough and long enough to permit a change of occupants. Following such a change, the temperature dropped briefly to about 118° F.

The sweatlodge was given to the Havasupai by Coyote and Wolf. After they had built the lodge, Wolf went inside while Coyote remained outside. Coyote kept Wolf inside all day, teasing him by sprinkling water on the rocks until the lodge was so hot Wolf had no strength to crawl outside. At sundown Coyote dragged Wolf outside. Later Wolf and Coyote taught the first men how to build a sweatlodge and instructed them on its use.

The sweatlodge is used for curing, but primarily it serves as a place of assembly for men who sit near the lodge visiting, singing, working on buckskins, or sometimes discussing tribal business while others use the lodge. Fewer women than men take sweatbaths, and they are more likely to do so for the purpose of curing. The sweatbath is considered

helpful for aching muscles and joints, for sprains, and excessive muscular fatigue. It is not used for diseases such as measles or whooping cough, which it is now recognized should be treated by a medical doctor.

There are special sweatbath songs which are used on no other occasions. These include a prayer, always used when first entering the lodge and addressed to the rocks, water, lodge, earth, sky, trees, and other natural phenomena, asking that the sweatbath will make the occupants "feel good and everything be all right." Certain prayers are for wounds, others for aching muscles, and so on.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

I. BIRTH CUSTOMS

At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually a baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord an inch or an inch and a half from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts the baby's navel with powdered red ochre obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ochre to prevent "prickly heat.")

To insure that a baby's face and head will be well-formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the earlobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ochre powder or with a paste, formerly a

mixture of red ochre and deer fat, but now a compound of red ochre and any available grease such as lard or cold cream.

A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers.

The cradleboard, seventy to seventy-five centimeters in length and about twenty-five centimeters in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about twenty-eight centimeters in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord attached to the upper left loop was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times,

shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well-tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark, beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was criss-crossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of Anglo-American design.

There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand over-heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father usually assists at the birth, and if he is present, he customarily builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the earlobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each earlobe was ornamented with turquoise beads.

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after his birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply were not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. After Anglo-American contact, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one adult now living, a man fifty-six years of age, survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At the present, many babies are fed entirely or

partially on a formula of half canned milk and half water. Havasupai mothers do not consider this to be too rich for newborn babies.

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by Anglo-American doctors. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the ritual yucca suds baths. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times.

II. KINSHIP ASSOCIATIONS

The first child born to a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short period of time after his birth.

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a

widowed sister and her children, a widower brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp thirty-five years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier, 1928, p. 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included seventeen individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

In former times when the Havasupai were semi-nomadic, a child had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group, but there were occasional periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death within their kinship group. The small size of the community in Havasu Canyon after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, made possible a closer association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group.

An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal

and maternal grandparents, but he usually explains that because a particular one took care of him he "felt closer to that one." Although residence is usually patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child is almost always the ward of or in the residence group of his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from his parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but his father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents,

or of another distant relative.

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins.

III. CARE OF BABY

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby.

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is

watched to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant states that, if this were not done, the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center.

As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects tened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or ch anged, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time. The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for

knowing, or, in accordance with the more common present-day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskin for tanning when he hunts.

The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep in the shelter of a brush arbor, or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

A mother keeps her baby near her as she works. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

"Tra-la, la-la, la-la,
Go to sleep little baby;
Tra-la, la-la, la-la,
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of Anglo-American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children.

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches, or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she

usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone.

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

> "I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle."

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward left-handedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand is left free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier, 1928, p. 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon

made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

IV. SITTING AND CRAWLING

An infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. A strong, healthy baby is said to sit alone at four months. A baby crawls on his hands and knees, or hands and feet on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let the baby

explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parents behave calmly and gently toward an infant. When a baby's play is interrupted, if any protest is forthcoming from the infant, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed; tied, and dragged about.

V. WALKING

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother.

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time.

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier, 1928, p. 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps.

VI. RETURNING THE UMBILICAL CORD TO THE CHILD

As soon as the child can walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, roasted on some coals, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ochre and deer fat or a substitute fat. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his forehead down the nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. One informant states that some of the navel cord is placed in the baby's mouth to prevent blisters on the tongue. Such blisters, if they do occur, can be healed by treatment with the ashes of a burned corncob, ground and mixed with red ochre and deerfat. If the umbilical cord has been lost, the child may be unruly or will grow up forgetful and will lose things.

VII. TOILET TRAINING

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between twelve and fifteen months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short

distance from the camp in some trees or bushes, out of sight. However, in the early morning, a mother may take her young child only into the yard, depending upon the dogs to keep the yard clean. The mother stoops or squats, her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins, she quickly takes him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant states that a child can be trained by the age of eighteen months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be lightly spanked, but more often is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together and, without subterfuge, they use the toilet area.

VII. WEANING

Weaning is accomplished even more gently. The baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinion pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage the baby, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

IX. TALKING

A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

X. HAIR CUTTING

The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old, when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear Anglo-American hair styles from infancy.

XI. NAMING

Names are always bestowed without ceremony and a person may have two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new name when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law.

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of then show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used that name, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it.

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai name, even when the native language is

being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names.

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning a Bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling Watermelons off the Vine, because when she was little, she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed Pear Fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman, who was called Little One during childhood, was renamed White Person Talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman, recently deceased, was named Pulling a Rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed Lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. (She is one of the younger members of a generation that still wears mother hubbards; at fourteen she was married to a widower fifteen years her senior.)

XII. ATTITUDE OF THE PARENTS TOWARD CHILDREN

Children of both sexes are desired. A man usually wants a boy to help him, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad because she too needs help. After the baby

is a few weeks old, the parents "don't care which kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as the child grows older, for the father invariably takes an interest in teaching the boy and spends more time with him. However, girls also occasionally went hunting with their fathers in former times. Fathers traditionally help tend children of both sexes, a task which is not considered exclusively woman's work, but which is primarily her responsibility.

Boys and girls are treated much the same in infancy. When they begin to walk they are dressed differently, and from this time on a girl gradually becomes aware of her femaleness and of a difference between her activities and those of her brothers or male cousins. Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. A girl is seldom told that she must not play like a boy, but a boy may be urged not to act like a girl, a boy's role apparently being more clearly defined and stressed for him than a girl's role is for her. One informant reported that a child of two or three would not understand and that verbal definition of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls, it's for little girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope. Hers is a doll."

XIII. WORK

A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work, but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl

learned to grind corn.

> "When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

XIV. EDUCATION

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is constantly held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing."

With the change from a pattern of subsistence in which hunting and gathering were more important than they are at present, dependence upon agriculture has become even greater than it formerly was. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women

shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply. Consequently, little girls today spend much less time helping their mothers in the gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary.

Today children receive very little instruction in activities which were of primary importance to their grandparents and to earlier generations. The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upo n financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs; and (3) establishment of a day school in Cataract Canyon with availability of Indian Service boarding schools located elsewhere for the education of Havasupai children. Economic resources once available to the Havasupai no longer exist; culture patterns once predominant have changed; and a child's time is occupied in obtaining a formal education rather than in learning to hunt, gather, or cultivate crops, activities once necessary to his future survival or welfare.

XV. PLAY

Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment. Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook the "corn" in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother.

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that small Anglo-American girls like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, making a bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of Anglo-American manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound across for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ochre or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width.

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a

gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his eighteen-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than twelve or thirteen years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride the horse's back. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Havasu Canyon, either to Topocaba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located a mile or so from the village area. Two women are reputed to have been outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days. One of them who died a year ago at eighty-eight years, reportedly entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo when she was thirty-five or forty years of age.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old with a piece of string, may imitate the handling of a lariat by men and older boys. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow.

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age.

A girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy, but few, if any, of the present-day girls have learned to handle a rope beyond lassoing and tying a dog.

Small children of both sexes are permitted to share their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one sitting in front of the father in the saddle and the others sitting behind the saddle. Occasionally, a man is seen riding with a baby, especially a first son, astride the saddle in front of him.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One man of sixty-four recalls winning a footrace as one of the highlights of his childhood.

Adults say that their play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given for unpopularity was an insistence by certain children on always being leaders. Observation of present play activities indicates that little or no attention is given to leadership; since most play is informal, a leader is unnecessary except perhaps to suggest an activity. In playing house, the children who act as parents are the older ones if some age

difference exists in the play group, and they assume authority over their "children" but not in a dictatorial manner. (If younger children act as children, part of the play is a performance of duty, such as removing a child from mud, or of picking one up if he falls, this being assumption of responsibility for, and authority over, a younger sibling delegated to an older sibling by a real parent.) The children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, and that leadership is attributed to such individuals because of personal popularity rather than because a particular child manifests natural leadership qualifications. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children should be home by sundown. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts usually correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right."

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without knowing the rules. At ten or twelve years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game.

Both boys and girls learn to swim at about five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which winds down the canyon bisecting the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring Anglo-American community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to the creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the river each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children tend to go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim.

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other

small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children between five and ten go in groups to shallow places in the stream, often accompanied by younger children whom they take into the water but watch carefully. There seems to be little anxiety on the part of parents concerning the safety of their children when they are in or near the creek.

When a child of four, five, or six is thought ready to learn, or expresses a desire to learn, to swim, the father or an older sibling takes him to one of the larger swimming holes, which are formed by travertine terraces deposited by the mineralized water, or by the scouring action of the creek when it is in flood. If a child comes unattended to learn, some of the larger teen-age boys, related or unrelated, take him into the water and give instructions. A father, or any other person, takes a great delight in teaching a child this skill. A beginner is supported in the water and usually learns to dog-paddle first. A child is not permitted to strike out alone until his instructor thinks he is competent enough for safety. An instructor stands ready to rescue a child if it becomes necessary. Beginners who are not yet skillful swimmers proceed with caution. Children were never observed to venture where they would need assistance. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly in the water; they appear to avoid

any action that would place themselves or others in danger of injury.

It is said that in former times girls and boys swam nude in separate groups. Today girls wear cotton dresses and boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis. Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water.

Water games include racing to retrieve a green apricot or peach floating downstream, racing to dive after a rock tossed into deep water, playing touch-tag, trying to swim across a strong current or to come up in the center of a small whirl-pool, and racing across the creek.

XVI. FIGHTING

Fighting techniques formerly employed by children of both sexes and by women reportedly consisted of scratching and hair-pulling with little or no hitting with the fists. (In sport, wrestling but not boxing is occasionally indulged in by boys and men.) Boys formerly fought among themselves as did girls, but boys delighted especially in fighting with girls because girls would cry. This statement by one informant seems to refute that of another informant that children were not permitted to tease one another. Teasing was observed infrequently in the present time, but if adults were present, they discouraged or stopped it when a victim cried or became angry. One father himself teased his two-year-old son until the child whimpered, after which the father picked

the boy up and petted him.

The investigator observed no quarreling or fighting between small girls or between girls and boys and witnessed only one fight between young boys. In a dispute, the behavior of the children appears to parallel closely that of the adults. The initial disagreement may take the form of a quarrel or a scuffling bout with pummeling of fists and wrestling, after which the persons concerned refrain from speaking to one another until their anger is forgotten. They avoid contact whenever possible and ignore one another's presence when they chance to meet. Today women and girls scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendevous with her lover, but avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away.

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to be one cause among boys, and a boy may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More agressive boys may pick fights, but other children likely would seek to keep out of their way.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about ten years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest without halting their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), but the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When thelevis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired, and they finally quit with the illegitimate boy crying a little.

When the investigator's companion was asked the cause of this fight, she shrugged, "That (illegitimate) boy is always mean." Questioning was not pursued because other people were present. No one was found later who knew, or would state, the reason for the fight. (Later contact with this boy did not bear out the judgment that he was mean.)

Quarrels or open rifts occur more frequently than fights which appear to be avoided to a great extent. There is a general attitude of passiveness toward conflict situations. On the adult level, much talking and little action is customary in both private and public disputes.

Both quarreling and fighting between adults most frequently concern or result from marital infidelity, land

inheritance, boundary disagreements, and gambling debts.

XVII. DISCIPLINE

Discipline is said to have been more rigid in former times. "Then parents were strict, real strict. They didn't let their kids get away with everything." Children's earlobes were pierced and long pieces of sinew or string were threaded through. When a child failed to respond promptly to a request, a jerk on the string brought him into action. Threats of spankings or denial of privileges were used and were carried out if necessary. Small rewards were sometimes promised. A severe measure, apparently used only on boys, was to "smoke" an offender over a fire of horse dung while he was tied by the heels to a tree limb. This was done frequently to two men now near sixty. One of them has failed to punish his own sons in this manner, although they are popularly thought to deserve it. They are said to be mean "because their father was a mean boy."

Today, parents may note, but display little excitement over their children's misconduct in trivial matters. If one child behaves aggressively toward another or a dispute occurs, a parental interference usually is verbal and seldom is loud or angry. Occasionally, a child is slapped or is beaten with a stick, but no severe beatings, or punishments administered in anger, were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, but don't is frequently used, usually being spoken in a calm tone.

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls seems less aggressive, and less persistent in playing with a dog. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. Adults seldom tease children, and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then forgetting his mood, he played happily the rest of the day. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl, her mother's favorite, was upset because she wanted to be taken to an Anglo-American doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. The girl eventually permitted herself to be pacified by being driven in a car a mile, at the inconvenience of two other persons, to buy a candy bar. This behavior apparently was not unusual;

this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon rather than in Supai.)

Adults in Havasupai society are haunted by a fear of ghosts which is transmitted to the children from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." It is said that adult men do not like to leave their camps alone after dark. However, in actuality, they do leave. Men and women appear to be equally fearful of seeing a ghost, and this fear is heightened for a short time following every death. Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are also frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog (next time they are swimming). However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals.

XVIII. ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or (3) infanticide. Each of these subjects will be

discussed more fully in succeeding chapters. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Anglo-American moral sentiments, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point, and in the same vein, informants denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier (1928, p. 301) described the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child arrives in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a step-father's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept step-children of all ages quite readily. If an

illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. If an illegitimate child is several years old when his mother marries, and if she has left the child largely in the care of his grandmother, an emotional tie may exist between the child and the grandmother which makes separation undesirable to both of them. This attachment develops most often when the grandmother has no small children of her own. Temporary maternal residence, if it is practiced, provides an illegitimate child and his step-father an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a step-child is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were available, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by the mother to a nurse at the hospital. Later, the mother, who had attempted to conceal her pregnancy, denied to fellow tribesmen that she had given birth to a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and immediately made a journey from Grand Canyon to Tuba City, recovering the infant who,

nearly a year later, was living with its grandparents while its mother who lived nearby largely ignored the baby.

In another case, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in the Grand Canyon Indian village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age, likewise employed. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for six small children of her own and for her aged mother, paid little attention to him beyond feeding and clothing him. He received some expression of affection from his grandfather, but, upon such occasions, his uncle, who is the same age, showed jealousy. The little boy was picked on by his slightly older uncles, but the grandparents interfered verbally if they noticed the situation, or if the small victim cried, The little boy's blind and nearly helpless great-grandmother, sitting on some rags beside the cooking fire, seemed aware of his plight, for whenever she heard him crying or protesting, she extended her arms in the direction of his voice, and in response to her call, he would take refuge in her arms, seeming to find solace in the clasp of her withered hands for a few moments. Two years later, when the boy's mother married the father of her next child, he went to live with his mother and stepfather in a Hopi village. There his mother treated him affectionately and expressed concern over the problem of his adjustment to the new environment. "It's hard for him here,"

she said, "when he's just learning the language and he's different from all the other children." (The boy's own father also reportedly was Hopi.)

When grandparents assume responsibility for an illegitimate child, they may do so merely because the child is left with them against their wishes. In the case cited above, the grandmother strongly disapproved of her daughter's "running around with boys", so the daughter left home to avoid frequent verbal conflicts with her mother. The little boy was left with his grandmother because there was no one else to care for him while his mother was working and "running around." His grandmother complained to the boy's mother that she was neglecting him unnecessarily, and tried to persuade her to pay more attention to the boy.

Grandparents who voluntarily assume responsibility of an illegitimate child appear concerned lest the child be lost to their kinship group. Also, they may be interceding temporarily in the hope that the child's mother later will awaken to her responsibility. Mothers who abandon or show little concern for their illegitimate offspring may do so because of emotional immaturity; because of a greater interest in finding a husband than in playing the role of mother; or due to economic factors.

Occasionally, an illegitimate child is the ward of an aunt or of a more distant relative, if there are no grandparents living, or if they are unable to care for the child.

Other children taunt an illegitimate child saying,

"Where is your father?" An informant remarked that illegitimate children "are always mean," but observation failed to substantiate this. Perhaps fellow tribesmen are especially cognizant of aggressive or belligerant behavior shown by an illegitimate child. If such behavior actually exists, it may result from a child becoming overly sensitive to the group attitude toward his birth.

To an unbiased observer, illegitimate children appear to have no constellation of personality traits clearly differentiated from those of legitimate children. Data obtained are too incomplete to support a conclusive statement at this time. However, the factors of an illegitimate child's residence and his close relatives' attitude toward him appear to have more bearing upon his personality development than does the question of his paternity.

XIV. CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS

A divorced mother usually desires to keep her children with her. The fact that they nearly always reside with the mother may result from a child's dependence upon a woman for food preparation, clothing care, and other needs for which a father may be unable to provide, due to economic demands upon his time, or for which a father or step-mother may be unwilling to provide.

A divorced woman usually returns to the home of her parents until she remarries. If she is employed elsewhere, she nominally belongs to the household of her parents until

she remarries. A man who marries a divorced woman with children usually accepts the economic responsibility of fatherhood. Divorced mothers tend to remarry, while divorced fathers less frequently remarry. During the period when a divorced mother is unattached, and especially if she has no permanent residence, her children may divide their time between the homes of their paternal and maternal grandparents. Occasionally, each grandmother may take one or more of the children on a somewhat more permanent basis. It is said that a child may choose his residence if he has a preference.

Among living adults there have been seven divorces involving children. Each of these divorces is documented in a later chapter, but the present concern is with the children of these divorces.

The only divorced mother who failed to remarry had one half-grown son and two adult sons, at least one of whom was married and already established on his father's land. (All three of these sons now occupy individual houses in a cluster with that of their mother, the only Havasupai family having this precise arrangement.) The sons all remained with, or close to, their mother, making it economically unnecessary for her to find a husband. In the dispute which led to divorce, serious conflict developed between the father and one son who interferred when he thought his father was abusing his mother. The father was arrested and sent to prison for shooting at his son, and upon the father's return two years later, he lived alone in another part of the village. While the father

was alive, his former wife and his sons used most of his land, and at his death they inherited all the land, one piece going to his wife and the remainder being divided among the boys. The nature of this conflict and the father's term in prison probably served to establish residence of the sons with their mother.

In the remaining six dovorces, only one father succeeded in keeping the children with him. He is an aggressive individual, and probably is feared by his former wife. One cause leading to divorce was the father's opinion that his wife neglected their two daughters. The girls, who were very young at the time of the divorce, were cared for by their paternal grandmother until their father's remarriage. Because the paternal grandmother's hogan is located in the same camp area as that of her son and his family, she has actively participated in the rearing of the girls. Their step-mother, whose four babies all died in infancy, is considered to have been a good mother to these girls. The younger, who may be somewhat below normal mentally, at eighteen years of age, went to live with her mother who has remarried and has a family of small children. It was whispered at the time that her father no longer wanted her.

In the third divorce, the wife left her first husband to marry his younger brother, and these three individuals have continued to associate and cooperate in a manner which would have been improbable had not the two men been brothers. The ex-husband undoubtedly has had closer association with

his children than would have been likely under other circumstances. He has not remarried. His adult son, also divorced, now spends some time with him.

In another divorce, that of the son mentioned above, which was precipitated by an affair the wife had with another man, the four children divided their time between their two grandmothers. The paternal grandmother was particularly attached to the youngest child, a girl of two years, and refused to let the mother have her except for short periods of time. The eldest child liked to divide her time between her two grandmothers for in each camp was an aunt near her own age. The second girl preferred her maternal grandmother, whereas the boy was almost as favored by his paternal grandmother as was the two-year-old girl. These two children also divided their residence between the grandmothers, each one, however, spending a larger share of time with the favored grandmother. When the mother remarried about a year later, she took the three older children and an illegitimate baby, born between marriages, to live with their step-father. The paternal grandmother still refused to part with the youngest child. She takes this little girl wherever she goes regardless of the residence of the child's father, who spends part of his time away working.

In the three remaining instances of divorce involving children, the mothers have clear custody of all the children, but the fathers visit their children; and the children are free to visit their fathers and their paternal relatives,

sometimes for rather extended periods. It has not been possible to determine, in these cases, whether or not friction exists between the divorced parents over custody or other problems pertaining to the children, but such disagreement as may occur appears, on the surface, to be of minor significance.

Children of divorced parents apparently are not rejected by either parent, the only report to the contrary being that concerning the previously mentioned girl of below normal capacities and rather slovenly appearance. If that report was true, it may be noted that the father did not reject the girl until she became a young adult, when he may have thought she exhibited the same objectionable characteristics which had led him to divorce her mother.

A child of divorced parents undoubtedly experiences some loss of security when his home is broken, but it may be hazarded that trauma is less severe than that suffered by Anglo-American children of divorce. The Havasupai child very seldom is deprived of association with either parent. Nearly always the child remains in fairly close or regular association with one parent, but visits the other occasionally. As he grows older, he is permitted considerable freedom in choosing his residence with either parent, and in addition, he has a number of close associations with grandparents and other relatives. The absence of a legal battle and formal legal arrangements concerning the child no doubt permit a minimum of emotional stress for the child at the

time of divorce. In certain instances a child may suffer when the parents or other relatives vie to obtain custody of him (not in a legal sense, of course). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

XX. ORPHANS AND HALF-ORPHANS

An orphan may be cared for by his paternal grandparents or by his maternal grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he can to find temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, the economic situation of surviving relatives, and their attitude toward assuming responsibility for the children, genetic relationship to the children of their surviving relatives, all these factors and possibly others influence the child's future residence.

If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family, which included eleven permanent members and several semi-permanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed.

If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these non-lineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than three hundred dollars (Kelly, 1953, p. 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level.

While a widow has a right and is expected to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently, the practice in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one set of grandparents or the other and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities, and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she was living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of extra non-producing dependents (young children) meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level.

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to him in Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by the Indian Service, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside

authoritative interference is uncertain.

In the second case, still unsettled, a paternal grandfather refuses to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage was spent in patrilocal residence where she was the only woman in a household including her father-in-law and a small brother-in-law. Her father-in-law was greatly attached to her husband and, knowing her son from birth, was devoted to him also. The widow's mother is dead and her father has remarried, his present union being frequently disrupted by separation, and his residence in Supai being very irregular. Doubtless, the widow has little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death a year ago, she found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house, despite the fact that there is no woman present to care for him. The widow continues to seek custody of the boy, but it appears doubtful that she will win without intercession of Indian Service personel. Her father-in-law is a man of determination, with physical strength on his side, which would discourage any effort by the widow to take her child by stealth. Should she succeed in such a course, little doubt exists that her father-in-law would find her and take the child by force. Although the widow's father is a shaman, he lacks something in the dignity or reserve that suggests strength and authority. Neither he nor the widow's brothers are any physical match for her father-in-law. This appears to be an example

of the manner in which individuals, with aggressive or forceful behavior, occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. This type of behavior of men toward women among the Havasupai, however, is somewhat of a pattern in itself, a subject which will be developed further in a subsequent chapter. In this case, it appears that the grandfather will retain custody of the child. In the event of the grandfather's death, the boy would return to his mother. Should the child himself, when he is a little older, wish to join his mother, it is possible that the grandfather would heed his wish.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may, but in practice seldom does, live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, Duke, whose father died when he was about five years old, was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son. Now, Duke's step-grandson who lives with him is highly regarded by Duke, whose only child died in infancy.

XXI. PERSONALITY DEVIATION

There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from

the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the social community in the area of inter-personal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and anti-social tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe, while feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right." Other individuals who were considered different by members of their age group all, as boys, were aggressive, attempting to dominate in games and sometimes behaving like bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continued to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity. Three such men are brothers. Several men who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, who were disobedient, or who were pranksters, are popular and respected members of the community, and apparently were acceptable or even sought after as playmates in childhood. One man, who in childhood was both aggressive toward others and disobedient, is an aggressive adult, apparently somewhat feared by others.

CHAPTER III

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

I. PUBERTY

Puberty, as noted by appearance of the first menses, marks an important point in a girl's life. Although a girl is not necessarily required to put aside childish toys and pastimes and to assume the attitudes and responsibilities of a woman from this time on, the occasion is recognized as symbolic of transition from childhood roles to those of youthful or near-adult girlhood. It should be noted that adulthood and maturity are not synonymous terms to the Havasupai, who regard the former as a state of physical development, and the latter as a mental and emotional condition, notably the development of distinctive personality traits and stability of character, along with the acquisition of wisdom and experience. These attributes are expected to emerge only with passage of time, the latter two, especially, not being looked for much before middle age. Thus, while a young adult may be proficient in physical skills, he is not expected to "know" things such as the best ways to get along in his environment, nor is he thought to have thorough knowledge of traditional tribal folklore and folkways.

Puberty apparently is not closely associated with a girl's eligibility for marriage. Although a few girls in the present younger generation have married shortly after

the advent of puberty, marriage usually takes place perhaps five or six years later, the length of the intervening span lending support to statements by informants that there is no connection between puberty and marriage. Although several women reportedly had not reached puberty when they married, this was not checked with the respective individuals who, in each case, were old enough to menstruate. However, the fact that they are reported to have married prior to puberty suggests that the first menses is not necessarily prerequisite to marriage.

Thus, while puberty is formally recognized with a traditional ceremony, it is not marked by any sudden change in the routine of a girl's daily life. In her work and recreational activities, assumption of adult-like roles is accomplished gradually and almost imperceptibly. No doubt the eldest girl in a family is given greater and earlier responsibility than that delegated to a younger sister. However, a girl's grandmothers, aunts, and other female relatives are usually at hand to assume major duties, or to help with whatever a young girl must do.

A girl is prepared in advance by her mother for the physiological phenomenon of menstruation. Apparently, the experience is seldom traumatic if it occurs while a girl is living with her parents or relatives. However, among women interviewed on this subject, those who were in boarding school when the first menses occurred, almost without exception reported that they were frightened and didn't know

what to do, although most of them were not taken by surprise either in the occurrence of menstruation or its characteristics. On the other hand, women who observed puberty at home seemed unable to recall an initial reaction of fright or emotional distress. If they remembered their first reaction, it was described as excitement or nervousness.

While hysteria or extreme trauma was not reported for girls away from home, a few women reported that they were so frightened that they "cried at first," "cried all night," "went off alone and cried," or something similar. Usually, a girl confided in or sought assistance from a friend or matron.

A problem for further study is the difference in initial emotional reaction reported by women who were at home or at boarding school when the first menses occurred.

It may be that the nature of the social environment, rather than the physiological phenomenon itself is the primary cause of the different responses. Whether or not a pubescent girl has prior knowledge of menstruation and its traditional accompanying ritual appears to be a factor of somewhat less importance.

Although a consistent check was not made to determine how much advance knowledge a girl has of the puberty ceremony, and what her attitude toward its observance may be, evidently nearly all pubescent girls know that some ceremony customarily is performed. A girl usually knows at least, that the prescribed ritual includes a yucca suds bath and

shampoo, body and face painting, and a period of some days on a bed over heated rocks.

Upon appearance of a girl's first menses, her immediate perception that the traditional ceremony cannot be performed for her because of her presence at boarding school, may contribute to her emotional distress. Another disturbing factor may be the absence of her mother and other close relatives, and her own absence from the environment where she gained her earliest feelings of security. She may be more sharply aware at this time of her presence among strangers and superficial acquaintances, although a sister or a few friends may be with her. She may be further disquieted by the foreign environment to which she may be poorly adjusted or unreconciled.

If a girl's knowledge of the traditional puberty ceremony is meager, older Havasupai girls in the school may instruct her in proper observance of taboos. If they give her a full description of the customary ceremony with reasons for observance of its various features, this information probably adds to the pubescent girl's apprehension concerning neglect of the proper ritual.

A girl's careless attitude toward subsequent observance of menstrual taboos does not necessarily suggest that the same girl would have felt unconcern for tradition during her initial menses. On the contrary, flaunting of taboos more likely results from: (1) accidental infractions not followed by dire consequences; (2) association with girls

of other tribes who, although not observant of Havasupai taboos, suffer none of the predicted penalties; and (3) Anglo-American education and influences.

In addition to the possible factors outlined above, Havasupai cultural patterns are defined somewhat loosely, individual and group behavior approximating, rather than following, that set forth in the prescribed patterns. Thus, a casual attitude toward undeviating observance of menstrual and other taboos, and toward performance or omission of behavior seemingly dictated by tribal mores, in itself, appears to be characteristic of Havasupai culture.

Although this casual attitude is evident in behavior, it is only indirectly verbalized. While a child becomes the creature of his culture, it would be premature on present evidence to conclude that either the implicit casualness or the verbalized imperatives concerning the puberty ceremony might predominate in determining a pubescent girl's attitude toward omission of her puberty ceremony and her emotional reaction to the situation.

Physiological phenomena incident to menstruation, such as pain, nervous tension, dizziness, or weakness, must be discounted as factors conducive to greater emotional stress among pubescent girls absent from home, because the same symptoms would occur also among girls at home.

In the absence of a conclusive explanation of the different responses reported for the two groups of pubescent girls, it is suggested that the puberty ceremony itself

minimizes any emotional distress a girl may feel.

The puberty ceremony functions to obtain public recognition of a girl's impending change in status from childhood to womanhood. The ceremony is held in private and is followed by no formal public announcement. Perhaps this correlates with statements that the puberty ceremony does not mark the beginning of adult status and eligibility for marriage. News of a girl's puberty ceremony is passed from person to person with about the same interest evoked by other tribal gossip. The private nature of the Havasupai puberty ceremony and the lack of emphasis upon its association with subsequent eligibility for marriage are in contrast with the public character of the Apache puberty ceremony, and the accompanying change from prior ineligibility to subsequent eligibility for marriage, as reported by Opler (1941, p.82).

Among the Havasupai, the puberty ceremony's most important function may be for the girl herself. Attentions given her during the ritual puberty observance tend to: (1) dramatize a difficult experience for her by treating it as one of great importance; (2) sustain and reinforce her ego by verbal delineation of her prospective roles, and by indirect acknowledgment of her newly acquired status; and (3) minimize possible unpleasantness of the physiological change involved by directing a girl's attention toward the ritual and its symbolism, and by emphasizing importance of her future womanly duties toward her family.

Initial fright felt by a pubescent girl living at home might easily be forgotten in the reassurance offered by the puberty ritual and its accompanying attentiveness to the girl by her mother or another close relative.

Puberty for boys is not marked by ceremony. Perhaps the closest thing corresponding to puberty ritual was the recognition which fo rmerly accompanied a boy's first successful deer hunt. A boy was not permitted to eat any of his first kill. He divided it instead among relatives and friends or among other hunters.

While some form of the puberty ritual usually is performed for a girl of today, a boy no longer has the opportunity of achieving recognition through his mastery of hunting techniques. The Havasupai, of course, are restricted to hunting only during annual game seasons, and wild animals no longer play an important part in their economy.

II. MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF MENSTRUATION

A folktale describing the manner in which menstruation came about is incorporated in a longer story. Only the part concerning menstruation is narrated here.

"Long ago when the world was still wet, before the human race was here, and when the animals were like human beings, a squirrel lived in the San Francisco Mountains. One day he took the tibia of a deer and painted on it a design. After sundown, he threw the bone to the east with a prayer that a young girl would come to him with the next

rising sun. The girl came just as Squirrel had prayed she would. She lived happily for a time there at the camp with her guardian, Squirrel, and her brothers, Coyote and White Dog.

"One day Coyote called to his sister saying, 'Sister, you must stay here while I go out to hunt.' After the girl had waited awhile, Coyote returned carrying a fawn he had killed. The girl was glad to see the fawn and sat nearby thinking how good the meat would taste. While Coyote was butchering, she felt of the fawn's smooth hair and touched his ears and face. Presently, Coyote asked the girl to hand something to him, and when she turned away to reach it, Coyote put his hand in the fawn's fresh blood and flipped it upon the girl's thighs close to her vagina. The Coyote cried out, 'Oh, Sister, you are menstruating. Now you cannot eat meat until you are clean after four days have passed.' The girl was angry because she couldn't eat the meat. Coyote said to her, 'From now on it will happen like this to you once every month. After four days you must bathe.' Thus it was Coyote who caused the girl to have the monthly illness, and all girls have had it since that time.

"The girl went to bed unhappy and next morning when she awoke she was still angry with her brother, Coyote, so she left the camp early saying nothing to her relatives. She ran away to a land in the west where she lived from that time on."

III. PUBERTY CEREMONY AND FOLKLORE

Havasupai girls are said to reach puberty at twelve or thirteen years, but some variation occurs. In 1951, three girls of eleven observed an initial menses, while another girl reported that her first had appeared when she was seventeen.

When a girl is eleven or twelve, her mother explains that she may begin menstruating soon. A girl is instructed in what to expect and how to care for herself so she won't be frightened. She is also told about the ritual which will accompany her first menses.

In childhood, a girl is shielded from knowledge of menstruation, although it seems likely that some girls learn the physiological facts early from contacts with older sisters or girl friends. Also, women informants speak frankly and without embarrassment of both menstruation and childbirth in the presence of children of both sexes. Although, in several cases, little girls listened with interest to interviews on these subjects, it is possible that they did not fully comprehend the discussion, especially since English terms were used. In Havasupai, the term for menstruation, ahua tiga, literally means red (Spier, 1928, p. 326). Blood was recorded as ahuat' and red as ahua'ta by this investigator.

Living arrangements afford little privacy. Old style hogans and other house types consist of one room, and the newer houses have only one or two rooms. A menstruating

woman usually goes to the toilet area to care for herself, first to find privacy, and second, to bury her soiled menstrual pad. Since the toilet area almost always is located in some brush near camp, a little girl may chance to observe her mother or an older sister there. In 1952, a nine-year old girl who persistently questioned her older sister about the purpose of packaged sanitary napkins was repeatedly offered the explanation that they were used to bandage injured arms or legs. When an uninformed young girl observes the initial puberty ritual, she is told that this is a treatment "for aching all over." This explanation may seem plausible in comparison with the therapeutic function of the sweatbath.

In former times a buckskin dress was made for use during a girl's first menses by one of the men who knew how to do it. Chiefs are said to have fulfilled this function, while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses.

Originally, a puberty dress was made like the pattern worn daily and described by Spier (1928, pp. 185-8). This consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck and covering from the breasts to the ankles, and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back pieces were fringed down the

sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn.

The most important requisite feature of a puberty dress was that it be stained red by rubbing powdered ochre into the buckskin. In later times, while buckskin dresses were still made, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal preferences and materials on hand.

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony.

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to see one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or at some time she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby.

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If

an old dress was used, it was later discarded.

For menstrual pads, formerly the inner bark of the juniper tree was rubbed soft and was sometimes covered with rabbit fur for greater comfort. Rubbed bark also might be placed beneath a girl on her bed. Later, pieces of old Hopi or Navaho blankets were used if available. At present, sanitary napkins are preferred, but old rags are used if a woman cannot afford napkins.

Menstrual pads and everything that becomes soiled with blood is buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children by death.

When a girl's first menses begins, her mother bathes her body and shampoos her hair in yucca root suds. While her hair is being washed and dried, a girl should not touch it herself. Her mother dries it in the sun, speeding the process by catching the hair in her fingers and flipping the ends quickly with a stick. Hair will turn gray early in life if it isn't washed and dried properly at this time. An informant added that white women turn gray young because they don't know how to do this. Havasupai women, in common with other Indians, show very little gray until advanced age, and among the eldest women of the present time, the investigator recalls only one woman, aged eighty-eight in 1952, who had white hair.

During the bathing ritual, a mother admonishes her daughter not to be lazy, advising her to be a good wife and

mother when she marries, to work hard and keep busy always, and to observe the menses rituals and taboos throughout her life so she will stay young, attractive, and vigorous.

Spier (1928, p. 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." However, present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses.

Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ochre, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

If powdered ochre is used, no deerfat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would thereafter stay greasy like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

Liquid dye is obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit is out of season, dye is made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

Spier (1928, p. 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." While Spier does not specify that a girl's body is painted with powdered ochre, the above reference to colors suggests that meaning. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants invariably refer to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. However, informants now state that either powdered red ochre or opuntia dye may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. This is in keeping with the usual Havasupai pursuit of whichever course requires least effort, whether in ritual or most other activities.

Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the corner of her mouth, and the outer lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Another pattern consists of vertical lines on a girl's cheeks and a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body is painted red completely from neck to foot.

While it was stated that a menstruating girl must rise

before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she would be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she was said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed or to their sequence.

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west. This helps a girl to work quickly and never to fail in her tasks. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair shampooed and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. Like the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown.

After a girl runs toward the sunrise, she returns home and works about the camp.

Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from camp. In the pit, which is about four feet long and a foot deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a soft bed for the girl. When the girl has performed a few tasks, she retires to this bed, remaining there most of the time during four days and nights. The rocks stay hot overnight and are reheated each morning. At her mother's bidding, a girl rises frequently during the day to carry wood or water, or to do some other work so that she will not become a lazy wife.

In former times, an old woman, often a girl's grandmother, sat beside her throughout the night singing and talking to keep the girl awake. "Don't be lazy," the old woman admonished. "When you marry, work hard and be a good wife and mother." At present, a girl is permitted to sleep part of the night.

During this and subsequent menstrual periods, a girl refrains from eating meat which would cause her face to wrinkle and her teeth to wear out prematurely. Although Spier (1928, p. 326) states that salt is not taboo, present informants say it must be used very sparingly. Otherwise, a girl while menstruating may eat much the same as usual, except that soft foods and liquids are preferable for her, and she should eat small amounts. Some foods considered appropriate in former times were corn mush, sile (unidentified) mush, black sunflower seed paste, opuntia pears, and dried soapweed pears.

Because scratching with her fingernails would leave raised marks or scars on her skin, a girl formerly used a deer tibia painted in meaningless (?) designs in red, black, and white, and suspended around her neck. Or she might make use of any stick close at hand. At the present time, sticks appear to be used exclusively. These are undecorated. In 1951, a Havasupai girl, while visiting an abandoned storage cist with this investigator, found a stick tucked into a crack under an overhanging rock. The stick, identified without prompting as a puberty scratching stick, was about

six inches long, half an inch wide, and a quarter of an inch thick. It was undecorated and unsmoothed except for one end which was slightly rounded, perhaps by abrading it with a stone. The only stick observed in use, however, was any one which happened to be at hand, and it was often tossed aside after one use.

Sexual intercourse is prohibited during menstruation. As one informant phrased it, if this taboo is broken, "you will be pregnant right there." Infraction would result in this penalty for either premarital or postmarital intercourse during menstruation, and for intercourse during the menstrual flow following childbirth.

If a girl at puberty is thin, a fat woman "stands on the girl's back" so she too will become attractively plump. In practice, a fat woman places one foot on a girl's back, exerting but little pressure. Because N___'s mother was considered too thin, and no fat woman was at hand, N___'s moderately stout father performed this service for her. This was not done for N___'s sister, J___, who was at boarding school when her first menses occurred. Her mother explained that this omission is the reason that "J___ stays too thin and isn't pretty (fat?) like N___." The mother's use of this illustration in this case is somewhat obscure, for the two sisters are about the same weight in proportion to height. However, it is true that N___ is prettier in face and more feminine in form than is her sister when judged by Anglo-American standards and apparently also by Havasupai ideals.

Although it was denied by several informants, others insisted that menstrual blood brings bad luck to hunters, and for that reason, a menstruating woman formerly stayed alone a short distance from camp where men would not come in contact with her. At present a woman should not enter a sweatlodge while menstruating. A woman's pregnancy, but apparently not her menstrual periods, should keep her husband from using the sweatlodge.

Traditionally, a girl's mother or grandmother attends her during her first menses, but in practice, almost anyone related or unrelated, female or male, may take charge of the ceremony.

In one case, a girl's father took complete charge, including the bathing and painting of her body, although her mother was present. The mother in question offered the excuse that she merely felt "too lazy" to do it herself. The mother admitted also that she neglected to perform any of the puberty ritual for a younger daughter whose first menses occurred after the death of the girl's father.

In another case, a girl's paternal grandfather attended her, although her parents and both grandmothers were available. This girl, now an adult, could offer no reason why her grandfather played this role, but in other interviews, she repeatedly indicated that a close bond existed between her and this grandfather with whom she lived as a child, and who "was always telling me stories and teaching me the right things to do."

In a third case, previously noted, a girl's father substituted for a fat woman in stepping on her back. Her mother explained that she felt "too lazy" to walk to the nearest camp where a fat woman could be found. (Each camp is within a radius of about a mile from most other camps).

The puberty ritual in complete form as described here, is seldom, if at all, performed today. Greatest emphasis is now placed upon the taboos against meat, intercourse, scratching, and use of too much salt, about in that order. The bed of heated rocks is used in most cases, and many girls still have their bodies bathed and their hair shampooed. Body and face painting is somewhat less emphasized, perhaps because with a decrease in gathering of wild plant foods, opuntia pears may not be on hand; and other activities and interests also tend to discourage preparation of a sufficient amount of powdered ochre. In practice, almost any combination of features from the prescribed ritual may be selected. A girl may not be kept awake long, if at all, during the night. Few girls run at sunrise and probably none run at sunset. Less emphasis than formerly is placed upon performance of camp work at this time.

IV. FEMININE CLOTHING, ADORNMENT, AND BEAUTY PRACTICES

In former times, style was of little importance either in clothing, ornamentation, or decoration, but both girls and boys commonly gave some attention to enhancing their attractiveness from adolescence through the courtship period.

Spier (1928, pp. 183-97) describes clothing and personal decorations for both sexes in more detail than present informants are able to give, but some supplementary data were added to Spier's.

In aboriginal days, both young girls and mature women wore a buckskin dress of a style copied in the puberty dress already described. For daily wear, a dress apparently was uncolored. Its usual decoration consisted of buckskin fringes, hoof or bone rattles, or metal jinglers.

Feminine apparel also included hard soled moccasins with a long upper piece wound around the leg (Spier, 1928, p. 191), a short apron worn in front under the skirt, a wide buckskin apron or belt decorated with rattles, and a woven Hopi belt (Spier, 1928, pp. 188-9). A woman originally draped a rabbitskin blanket around her shoulders. Spier (1928, p. 129) reports that the blanket was replaced by a shawl, made from four bandannas, which was knotted under the chin, hanging to the heels in back.

Two hat styles, a woven basket type, and a skin hat cut from the thigh of a mountain sheep, deer, or antelope, were reportedly worn infrequently by men in aboriginal times. Informants who described the men's hats in some detail knew of no corresponding hat ever worn by women.

Present informants describe a later style of buckskin dress worn for dances until perhaps about 1940. In imitation, either of Plains Indian or Anglo-American styles, the dance dress was fashioned from two large buckskins with

sides sewn together and long sleeves inserted. The buckskin was left white or stained red with powdered ochre. Sleeves were fringed from armhole seam to wrist, and the lower skirt edge was fringed. A woven Hopi belt of colorful design was knotted at one side with ends hanging free. Metal jinglers were sometimes added to the belt ends, to the sleeves at the wrists, and to the skirt edge. The yoke was beaded in both front and back. Necklaces and bracelets of silver, turquoise, or shell were worn with these dresses, and women painted their faces variously with red, white, or black designs.

Buckskin clothing in aboriginal times was made exclusively by men for both sexes. Dance dresses of the above style reportedly were made by Chief Watahomigie for his granddaughters, Harriet and Edna Yumiska, and by Dean Sinyella for his daughter, Irene, but these dresses were destroyed upon the death of their makers. While the beading technique was learned at boarding school by a few women now near middle age, and two or three older women had acquired the skill elsewhere, it was never widely used by the Havasupai.

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, but only a few individuals occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from Anglo-American stores or sewn on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men, of course, no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear

low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home.

Two informants reported that, formerly, women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of an unidentified tree found on the plateau. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants.

Women customarily wore their hair long with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ to the shoulders. Women in former times, reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied strands of hair from above the ears together behind the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After Anglo-American contact had provided them models with curley hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them.

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly.

few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child.

Face painting described by Spier (1928, pp. 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ochre mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of Anglo-American cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is in most common use, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular subject being a set of initials probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with

charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, p. 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

In recent years, under influence of Anglo-American beauty standards, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, certain women are careful not to gain it.

A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to hold her abdomen in while it returns to normal size. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

In addition to observance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos which keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should daily wash her face in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles.

This routine has an echo suspiciously like advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added:

> "I think this is true, because S___'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to wrinkle in their twenties. But look at me, I'm forty-four and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face has not been checked with older informants.

It is an interesting aside that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling group. They are quick to smile, and such expressions appear genuine rather than forced or automatic. A frowning expression is seldom seen, the face in repose customarily being composed in a placid or somewhat "blank" expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, and few of them use the

creek, members of either sex may be seen taking a bath while seated in an irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Older people prefer the quieter water, or the closer location of a ditch. In a few cases, they report that creek bathing brings a rheumatic attack. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized little prior to reservation days, for Havasu Creek gives the Havasupai their present advantage.

V. SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND PREMARITAL EXPERIENCES

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license probably was more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genital area in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-

year-old girl remarked that she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry. Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that,ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual

indulgence because it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, p. 324) notes that an adolescent girl of thirty-five years ago remained under her mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinion nut harvest, cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Havasu Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but

members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude.

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that thirty or forty years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house."

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, p. 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today.

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences.

> If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy.

While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat

may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to him in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted.

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated.

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, p. 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand, that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established

cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in declamation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual intercourse until a later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of twenty-one attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about ten minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence, the young man was publicly berrated by the group which

continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him," both replied that they had talked to him about his ways without favorable reaction, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by anyobserver that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them.

One informant states that girls, who reach puberty before they are twelve years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may spank her with a hand or beat her with a stick, but it is said that"today they don't

beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, parents don't beat but may verbally reprimand a boy for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse, but verified that a girl's parents may beat her when they learn that she has been out with a boy.

Incidents of so-called rape involving teen-age boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible.

One girl of seventeen confided to the investigator that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often."

A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago when the girl was fourteen and the boy was sixteen, is now married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial

"Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male sidelines. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled, by at least part of her fellow tribesmen, as a prostitute. Reportedly, she caters to Indians and others in a nearby Anglo-American community where she lives alone.

At the present time, teen-age individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to sneak away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time.

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carrying on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

However, individuals who converse or sit together at the gambling place where many adults are present follow the traditional pattern, in that it is impossible to discover in whom a particular girl or boy may be interested. There as everywhere else, with exception of the swimming holes, members of a courting pair completely ignore one another. Either one may give some attention to another person of the opposite s ex, exhibit an air of friendliness toward everyone, or display apparent detachment from the entire group.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events, that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair, however. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too

elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial state of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males); (4) sexual abuse of a small boy by an older male (only one case reported); (5) incest; and (6) rape. However, verbal reprimands usually represent the only attempt either to control or to punish the offenders. Public action is seldom taken, the only examples reported being ones in which Anglo-American pressure probably was responsible for measures taken.

As noted earlier, even in the sexual initiation of a seven-year-old girl, public sentiment was but mildly aroused.

Parents of the child made no issue and, reportedly, said nothing to the offending youth or to his family. In the case of an assault upon a boy of six or seven in which the aggressor inflicted painful injury upon his victim, the subject may never have been publicly discussed, and no action was taken. The victim's parents nursed their anger in private, but his maternal grandfather, upon a later difference of opinion with the father of the little boy's attacker, tried to pick a fight. An informant reported that the grandfather "would not have acted that way but he was still kind of mad about what happened to his grandson." The offender went unpunished unless his father privately rebuked him.

Adverse public opinion expressed in gossip and, occasionally, in group discussions is apparently the severest sanction applied against an offender in any of the six categories listed above.

VI. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

It is said that very few illegitimate children were born in former times. In 1953 six unmarried girls had borne a total of eleven babies (living and deceased), and two girls were expectant mothers. These eight girls were from sixteen to thirty-one years old. The earliest age at which one of them became a mother was fourteen years and four months. Among married women, eleven mothers had borne a total of eighteen babies (living and deceased) conceived before marriage or between marriages . (This number of women probably

would be larger, but no attempt was made to record all such cases.) These women were from eighteen to eighty-eight years of age. Three of them had married the men popularly believed, or privately acknowledged, to be the fathers of their offspring. In a total of fifty-two Havasupai women, either married or widowed, at least eleven or approximately one-fifth of their number had borne illegitimate children. In a total of twenty-four girls fourteen years of age or older (fourteen being the age of the youngest mother), eight, or one-third of the girls had borne one or more illegitimate children.

A girl's prestige suffers when she bears a child out of wedlock. For a time she becomes a subject of gossip. It is said that she is "bad", and her child is called "everybody's baby," said to be the literal meaning of the term for illegitimacy. Censure is not directed at a male believed to be the father of an illegitimate child. Nevertheless, unmarried mothers do marry, no case being known in which a mother of an illegitimate child was unable to marry later on. The mother of an illegitimate child seldom marries the child's own father. In three marriages where this did occur, all three couples were for a year or more prevented by family or tribal disapproval from marriage because they were too closely related. A woman who has borne more than one fatherless child may be scorned or ridiculed more severely behind her back than is the mother of only one such child.

VII. PROSTITUTION AND ADULT PROMISCUITY

Public censure of a girl, aged twenty-three, who is labeled a prostitute, originates, for the most part, among girls in her own age group who ostracize her, and among married women who gossip about her. The reason given by girls of her age for excluding her is not her promiscuous activities but a claim that she " says mean things to them (the other girls) and wants to quarrel with them." Censure is not directed at Havasupai men known to patronize her. A widower of sixty, the day after a visit to this girl, stopped at the house of his sister and brother-in-law to joke about his experience. He thought it hilarious that he had been momentarily interrupted by another caller, but told his brother-in-law he had been "afraid" at the time, because the other caller, a Hopi, was a regular "boy friend" of the girl. The widower told his brother-in-law that, "I was gonna come get you to fight him." The brother-in-law replied that, had he done so, "I would have told that Hopi, 'B___ is this man's wife so stay away from her.' " Everyone present laughed at this joke.

The widower's sister stated that her brother "had been after" this so-called prostitute for a long time, but that he would not consider marrying her because "he would always think she was running around when his back was turned." The sister said that most of the Havasupai men wouldn't marry her for that reason. The sister seemed to think her brother's

part in the episode acceptable and humorous, but spoke of the girl with disdain.

Two or three women, now deceased, are said to have been promiscuous "except that they didn't get paid for it in the old days." However, these women were middle-aged widows or divorcees before they became sexually indiscriminate. One of them is said to have died from a venereal disease.

VIII. SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

In former times all four grandparents of a young girl told her how to act. It is said that a girl's own parents were considered too young to advise her properly. The grandparents instructed a girl to behave politely and sensibly, rather than foolishly, in the presence of a man. The girl should willingly and quickly do what was asked of her. She should obey her parent's teachings, and always try to remember "the right way to act." She should remember the teachings of her grandparents so she would know all the rules for herself.

A girl should conduct herself modestly whenever visitors came to her parents' camp, remaining discreetly in the background unless she knew the visitors well. When they saw how shy and modestly she behaved, they would know she was a good girl. After she was married, or if she were in charge of her father's camp, she should cook and serve food to visitors, even if there were only meager supplies on hand. A

girl should show respect to her elders; in her own family group, as with strangers, she must always be polite. She should obey her father, her uncles, and her grandfathers. She might behave with less restraint in their company when other men were not present.

A girl should help her mother with the camp work, watching closely how each thing was done and listening to her mother's instructions. A girl must take good care of her younger brothers and sisters so she would know what to do for her own babies. She must go frequently with her mother to gather wild seeds, pinion nuts, juniper berries, mescal, soapweed, and other useful plants so she would learn to recognize each growing thing, and would understand how to gather and prepare it for use. A girl should also go with her parents to help in the fields and to learn how corn, beans, and squash were planted and harvested.

If her father were dead or away on a hunting trip, a girl should obey her grandfather, her uncles, or her elder brothers for they were head of the family in the father's place and would know what to do if trouble came or if there was family work to do. A girl should always get up early in the morning before sunrise, and she should keep busy all day. No man wanted a lazy wife, and he might leave her if she didn't keep a good camp and take good care of her children.

IX. INTERFAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In addition to these instructions, a girl's grandfathers told her stories as soon as she could understand. The grandmothers also knew the stories, but they did not tell them if there was a man present who could do so. These stories concerning the origin of various customs and beliefs, usually cite examples of moral values or proper behavior patterns. All children, both girls and boys, loved to gather around a grandfather whenever he chose to favor them with stories.

Close bonds often exist between grandparents and grandchildren. A large number of present day adults were at one period or another in their formative years, dependent upon someone standing in the grandparent relationship to them, this category including siblings of all four lineal grandparents. Children of divorced parents and those who lose either or both parents in death customarily live with a grandparent in preference to an aunt, an uncle, or an older sibling. If no lineal grandparent is available, siblings of the lineal grandparents often accept responsibility for the children. Children who are not orphans dependent upon their grandparents often are part of an extended family residing with, or closely grouped with, the paternal grandparents. Thus, there is an opportunity for close association with at least one set of grandparents. A child living on the reservation seldom lives far from his grandparents, even

though residence may be in another household.

Association between a granddaughter and her grandmothers is close throughout a girl's early life. A grandmother takes delight in watching her grandchildren at play, or in sharing affectionate gestures with them. In the normal course of events, a grandmother has more time free from household tasks than she did when her own children were small. Association between a granddaughter and her grandmother appears to become closer as a small girl begins to share more fully in domestic tasks if the two are members of the same household. Although a girl's association with her own mother is usually very close if her motheris living, she forms a tie with her grandmother second only to that with her mother. If a girl is motherless, a grandmother, or several grandmothers, play the roles of mother and grandmother to her simultaneously. In one instance in which an illegitimate girl was reared entirely by her maternal grandmother after her own mother married, the bond between grandmother and granddaughter appears to be that of mother and daughter, and the girl's own mother plays only a slightly larger role in her life than do the maternal aunts.

The work delegated to a young girl, aside from tending her younger siblings, is often shared with her grandmother. Together the old woman and young girl in former times would undertake a day's trip on the plateau, or from Havasu Canyon to the esplanade to gather wild plants. They might work together in the fields, or perhaps work in camp while the girl's mother undertook more strenuous tasks.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

I. FEMININE ATTITUDE TOWARD MARRIAGE

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters.

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely an expression of culturally determined shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribesmen, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears uncertain both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistance gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extramarital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of

insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands and inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.)

Data pertaining to both past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as the investigator is able to interpret her observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to the observer leads to speculation concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions inasmuch as the investigator lacks the training in psychology needed for clinical analysis.

Ambivalence may have been produced in former times by certain inconsistent or conflicting cultural patterns involving virtually all females. Two such patterns were the following:

(1) the ideal of feminine reticence, aloofness, and shy restraint in the presence of unrelated tribesmen in contrast with real, but clandestine, premarital and extramarital sexual alliances, and (2) personal father-daughter relationships in contrast with husband-wife relationships as exemplified on a parental level.

Seeming contraries in the value system existed in the first instance in that a girl must appear circumspect to an extreme, pretending as a sign of virginity not to associate with males outside her immediate kinship group, while sub rosa association of the most intimate kind was permitted her, and in fact little importance was attached to the virginity of a bride. In the second instance, a daughter's relationship with her father was in marked contrast to that of a wife with her husband as described below. Emotional dichotomy originating in such contradictory orientations might conceivably culminate in some overt expression denoting inner conflict or insecurity feelings at the time of marriage when a woman initially faced realization of her own individual assumption of the adult feminine role.

In a girl's training and throughout her adult life, conformity to the ideal feminine behavior pattern was stressed. Both girls and mature women reportedly were so shy that they would withdraw to the hogan or conceal themselves nearby when an unrelated male visited men of their family. Spier (1928, p. 328) wrote that it was "not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is

permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father." Present informants concur that it was improper for a man to stop in a camp where a woman was alone even if he had traveled a long distance. Reportedly, a woman feared being alone thus with an unrelated male and therefore would ask him to return later. (Such fear probably was grounded, at least in part, on possible suspicion or jealousy of the husband in question.)

Spier (1928, p. 328) noted further that women did not "ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested" (presumably, when riding alone).

Women, when gathering food or otherwise employed in or near their camp areas on the plateau or esplanade, kept a sharp lookout for raiding parties from enemy tribes, hastening to conceal themselves at a hint of danger. Death or abduction was the usual fate of a captured woman. Such raids, occurring with an undetermined frequency, posed a particular threat to females in the absence of protecting males. Havasupai of both sexes usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired.

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative

isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition, was guarded and taught alertness to avoid being surprised by an enemy: she was closely chaperoned by related females and was taught to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males.

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital covert sexual behavior was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify.

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl may have originated in the father-daughter relationship in contrast to that of husband and wife as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline.

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or

lose under force or threat of force when conflict between her parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling-off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage.

Marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual and of a family residential unit under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matrilocal residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant further a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom

she usually felt secure and was at least familiar, to her husband, sometimes during aboriginal plateau residence almost a stranger, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

It should be noted that girls, at marriage, would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes at marriage ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence in Anglo-American communities.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasi-public acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

A third factor which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater

opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste in fear of pregnancy, and while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time.

Such ambivalence as the investigator has perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming

feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that the investigator's explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience are essentially intuitive and speculative.

II. COURTSHIP AND TRIAL MARRIAGE

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter for the sake of clarity, referred to as primary and secondary courtship.

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one or more partners alternately or successively and is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teen-age dating in Anglo-American society in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and gaining first-hand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than the Anglo-American, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may

be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After a couple develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and long endurance in time do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Havasupai point of view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian so maybe she doesn't like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally if at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become permanent but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection to it. A boy is not forced

into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby". (That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.)

In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected fewer boys than girls court seriously at very early ages.

Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another blank faces and aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about the village,

or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed unless perhaps their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious.

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood.

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes, or perhaps often, in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out as part of playing house. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of "mock" rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants to whom they report. It was not established whether boys in groups more freely discuss

their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or two close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know."

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the older living generation, one woman who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a nineteen-year-old youth in 1954, the balance of private opinion strongly condemned the

boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly, because they had opposed a marriage he desired. However, the case warrants closer investigation before conclusions can be drawn; relative factors appearing at the present time include the position of the youth's and his sweetheart's respective parents in the community, an unusual family situation for the boy, and public sentiment being heightened by the shocking extremity of the manner in which the youth reacted to parental opposition, and the cultural abhorrence of death. Nor is the influence of Anglo-American romantic tradition to be disregarded in so recent an example.)

Courtship as defined here probably was relatively unimportant in selection of marriage partners during early days, but at the present time, it has gained significance in this respect. Perhaps it serves physiologically and psychologically to dissipate tensions arising from the sex drive before marriage, and further, to minimize marital adjustment by placing initiation and orientation outside and prior to the marriage relationship.

Although marriage formerly was unmarked by ceremony at its inception, it was generally recognizable by the roles of the bride's and groom's parents, the marriage gift, and the bride's open acceptance of the groom at her home. Further, it was publicly marked at the bride's first menses following marriage when the mothers (or other close female relatives) of the bride and groom attended their respective children, washing them and painting their bodies red. Upon termination of the

menses, the groom ran at dawn toward the rising sun and the bride at sunset toward the setting sun on four successive days. Young, unmarried girls raced with the bride. Irregularity in observance of these customs now lends uncertainty to the status of a newly married couple.

It is suggested by this investigator that the Havasupai at present practice virtual trial marriage. While this pattern is not explicitly defined in the culture, it occurs regularly and in recognizable form. Although adults generally profess disapproval of its practice, they give it implicit recognition by their uncertainty concerning the status of young couples known to be living together or meeting regularly and frequently.

Public and private speculation concerning the status of a couple while in the transitory stage from courtship to marriage is precisely the clue to recognition of inceptive trial marriage. At that time an affair ceases to be surreptitious and begins to assume the external aspects of marriage. Trial marriage lasts only so long as a couple's marital status remains uncertain or until their association is discontinued. The feature which distinguishes trial marriage from courtship is its open rather than secret aspect.

Thus, trial marriage is characterized specifically by regularity in form and occurrence, by its public nature, and by both private and public uncertainty regarding the marital status of the couple involved. Further, trial marriages lack stability in that a rather large number of them are terminated

after a few months. However, they are based on mutual interest, desire for possible permanent association, sexual relations (generally mutually exclusive during this period), and sometimes by common residence. While a trial marriage ending in separation tends to be discounted by the couple involved, they generally will admit that, at the time, they considered themselves married.

Two recent cases will serve to illustrate trial marriage in practice. In the first example, Ted and Elaine (not their real names) began courting when she was about twelve, but Elaine's maternal grandparents who had reared her objected that she was too young for marriage. (Perhaps of more significance than Elaine's age, however, was the strained relationship between her grandparents and Ted's mother arising from an earlier conflict involving Ted's mother and Elaine's maternal aunt, married to Ted's older brother. That problem ultimately had been resolved by termination of patrilocal residence. Since Ted was the only son remaining at home to help his widowed mother, Elaine's grandparents, mindful of their daughter's former unhappiness, probably were reluctant to yield their granddaughter to almost certain patrilocal residence with this same mother-in-law.)

However, despite family opposition, Ted and Elaine continued their mutual interest for about two years. Then one summer night when Elaine was barely fourteen, she and Ted started on horseback to be married outside the reservation but she was brought home by her relatives who overtook them

before they had traveled far. Opposition to the union continued, but shortly thereafter Ted began to spend at least some nights with Elaine at her camp (although he continued to eat and keep his personal possessions in his mother's home), while Elaine's grandparents had not changed their views and continued to oppose the marriage. However, by the following summer, Ted was in matri-local residence and was observed doing some work for Elaine's grandfather. In the autumn a baby was born to Elaine, now fifteen years of age, and the couple moved to patrilocal residence. Thus, serious, or secondary courtship was carried on for two years while Elaine was in early adolescence, and trial marriage dated from the time Ted openly began to spend nights at her home. During the latter period the investigator asked Ted's mother if the couple were married. She replied in an uncertain tone and with a thoughtful countenance, "I don't know. My boy don't say nothing to me yet about him married." Some months later, active family opposition ceased and the marriage was both privately and publicly acknowledged.

In a second case, a boy and girl who had been engaged in a clandestine affair for some time were staying temporarily with respective relatives at Grand Canyon while employed there. When they simultaneously ceased sleeping at their relatives' camps, it was assumed that they were staying together elsewhere. Flaunting Havasupai convention, they spent their daytime leisure together publicly, not bothering to disguise their mutual interest. Although the girl's parents privately

disapproved of the boy as a son-in-law, they made no opposition. Instead, when they heard of the open course the affair was taking, the girl's mother came from Supai and advised the boy, "If you are going with our daughter this way, don't leave her later on. You ought to marry her because she will be pregnant."

Following this, the young couple moved into a tent together but continued taking their meals where they worked so that they were not actually keeping house. At this time one informant told the investigator, "We don't know whether they are married. They didn't say anything, but they're living over there like that, and it looks like they are married." Several other women, present during this interview, voluntarily echoed this opinion, everyone agreeing primly that the couple ought to be married if they were not. However, a short time later this couple separated.

When the girl's baby was born, no reconciliation occurred. The girl's parents visited her in the hospital, and she returned to live with them in Supai where she remains two years later, still unmarried as her former lover is also. While the cause of separation has not been investigated, it is likely that when the boy grew tired of the affair, he simply abandoned the girl and her expected child.

Courtship, in this example, continued until this couple began to be seen together publicly and was known to be spending nights together regularly. The affair assumed the character of trial marriage when the couple made no effort to

conceal it in their public behavior toward one another. It was clearly identifiable as a trial marriage following the visit of the girl's mother when the couple began to occupy a tent together in the tribal village at Grand Canyon and the social group could no longer ignore the question of the couple's marital status. It ended with separation of the couple before the birth of their child. This separation was not considered a divorce.[4]

It is evident that neither the principals nor anyone else could have predicted with much certainty the outcome of the trial stage in either of the foregoing examples. Clearly then, the early stage of such an alliance is a testing period. Not only are the bride and groom on trial with each other, the marriage itself is on trial for recognition by the families concerned and by the social group. The latter aspect is especially significant if the boy and girl are known to be related in any degree. Public disapproval usually, but not always, succeeds in dissolving such alliances.

The practice of trial marriage probably had some precedent in the past. The brief duration of many first and

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[4]A letter, written January 16, 1956 by a tribal member and received after the above account was written, reported that this couple again had "been living together for awhile now." Presumably, they have for a second time embarked upon a trial marriage. (The couple has not been observed since the birth of their child and this investigator has no information concerning the attitude or behavior of either individual toward the other during the two year period between their trial marriages.) Two factors, the presence of their child and the fact that this is a second attempt at marriage, now favor establishment of a permanent union between these two.

second unions reported for the older generation, and for generations now deceased, suggests a similar instability in the early period of marriage. If trial marriage comparable to that of present trial unions was practiced, it is a further indication that premarital sexual taboos were not as strictly observed by earlier generations as present informants like to believe. A man of about sixty (too young to have observed the old ways at first hand) stated positively, "If a couple slept together, and everyone knew it, they were considered married. That is how the old people always said it was in their times." However, he conceded in his next statement that a publicly known sexual union at a girl's home did not always result in a permanent marriage:

> Sometimes the girl didn't want to get married, but after dark when the boy who wanted her crawled into her hogan, she might let him sleep with her. He might come like that for a month or two, but she could keep on acting like she didn't want him. If she really didn't want him, then she would tell him to go away and would start fighting him. Sometimes he didn't come again if he thought she meant it.
>
> Or the boy might decide he didn't want that girl for a wife after he stayed with her for a few nights and he would just quit coming. Maybe her folks would be mad about it, but if she didn't show up pregnant from him, they didn't try to do anything.
>
> If the boy wanted the girl he kept on coming around at night even if the girl went on acting like she didn't want him. Her folks knew what was going on, and pretty soon if she didn't say she wanted to marry, they would talk to her. They told her, "Now you'd better get married. You been sleeping together for a long time and it don't look right if you're not married." Then the girl would go with the boy to his place.

The preceding statement not only suggests that temporary sexual unions of the pattern formally initiating

marriage sometimes were terminated after a short time at the volition of either party and that such a possibility was recognized, but it also suggests that temporary matrilocal residence, sometimes no more than a gesture of nightly visiting, may itself have been in the nature of a trial period. (However, the latter could have been true only when matrilocal residence was of shorter duration than that defined as average.)

Trial marriage may have taken root in the custom of matrilocal nightly visits which apparently served as a courting period in earlier days. Further, present laxity in chaperoning unmarried girls, closer association between young people, greater freedom from time-consuming economic responsibilities during youth for both sexes, and a pattern of premarital sexual license probably all contributed to establishment of the institution of trial marriage in the present culture.

III. MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS

Marriage, in former times, was initiated according to either of two distinct patterns. The more formal pattern was characterized by prior agreement between the two families and by an advance gift from the groom to the bride's parents. Another method of establishing a marriage consisted of a groom's nocturnal visit to the bride's bed, with presentation of a gift to her parents at a later date. Either pattern was equally acceptable. Apparently, the former was usually

customary (1) if the marriage were instigated by the parents, (2) if the bride and groom were unacquainted, or (3) if the groom were bashful. The latter pattern found favor among couples who had already become lovers and among men who felt sure of acceptance or who were spurred by an adventurous spirit.

In the first form of marriage, a boy who wanted a particular girl asked his father to obtain her for his wife. The boy's father either spoke to the girl's parents himself or asked a friend to make the proposal. If a suitor were a boy with no close relatives, or if he were a man of mature age such as a widower, he usually asked a good friend or some man of recognized oratorical ability to represent him, a service performed without remuneration. While it was permissible for a suitor to speak for himself and mature men often did so, a young man was usually too shy.

A proposal normally was delivered in a conversational manner, but a suitor's representative, particularly one given to public speaking, tended to make more of the occasion with a recital of a prospective bridegroom's virtues. A proposal might be accepted at the time it was made, but as a rule, a prospective bride's family required some time to consider the matter. Occasionally, several visits were exchanged by the two families or their representatives before an agreement was reached. A particular gift was sometimes promised in the initial proposal, or this subject could properly be omitted. If the nature of a gift or its value was unsatisfactory or if

a girl's parents wished to broach this subject, further discussions would ensue. While parents usually consulted the wishes of their daughter, if she refused a choice they approved, they might insist that she accept. When the question was decided, the girl's father, or his representative, delivered a reply to the suitor or his representative.

Occasionally, if a couple was well acquainted or had fallen in love, the youth proposed directly before consulting their respective parents. However, a boy should properly seek his parents' approval before making any advances to the girl or her parents, for his relatives (especially in the older generations) might know that he and the girl were related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities.

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such a case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her

before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal had been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistence, very likely an expression of the culturally determined shyness which distinguished a woman of any age as being properly feminine in behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night or later if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride:

> The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.
>
> Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

> Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today.

In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and Anglo-American influences. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone and relatively inexperienced.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the Anglo-American

economic community not only survives but usually is able to maintain a higher standard of living than that possible while attached to a parental household. While this economic situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act with some independence in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him in attitudes favoring individual, or at least non-familial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the Anglo-American example of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines of the western, romantic, true confession, movie, and funny book varieties.

Only a few couples have been married in accordance

rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained:

> Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, "I gave ____ for her." To himself he would think, "I bought her," but he didn't mention it that way.

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before a gift was tendered, but occasionally, a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted or if he was in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father were not satisfied with a gift or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily delivered it.

Almost anything was acceptable.

> Some gave one thing, some another. They gave just what they had, a buckskin, a horse, a mule, a saddle, a saddle blanket, a Navaho blanket, some venison or other meat, or whatever they could afford. Some men gave more than one thing if they were well off or if the girl's parents didn't want her to marry yet.

Sometimes a suitor killed a deer, butchered it, and dried the meat. Then he bundled the venison in a rawhide or buckskin, and, if he were not too bashful, delivered the gift himself. Meat is still a suitable present. As recently as 1940, a suitor gave half of a beef.

When the Havasupai began to have money, this became popular as a gift. In three marriages, fifty dollars was reportedly the sum given, and seventy-five dollars was given in at least one example. However, smaller sums alone or with material goods were acceptable.

Instead of a gift of goods or money, however, a groom might offer his services for a time. There was seldom if ever a formal agreement as to the length of time or the nature of the work involved. During temporary matrilocal residence, a groom customarily shared in the economic endeavors of the bride's household, whether or not a bridal gift had been given. This was nothing more than a contribution for his own subsistence and that of his wife and children if any were born during that time.

If the wife died within a few years after marriage, her husband might ask to marry her sister. If the parents of the deceased wife thought their former son-in-law had abused their daughter or had treated her at all unfairly, they would not give him another daughter or relative. One informant at the present time stated that the sororate was a possibility but was seldom practiced. However, Spier (1928, p. 223) says that "it was preferable to marry a second sister, if it

marriage so he didn't have to do it, and the widow could marry outside the family unless there was some other relative she wanted to marry. A man usually wouldn't object to marrying his brother's widow and taking care of the children even if he was already married, but his wife might not want him to.

Remarriage of either a widow or widower too soon was considered an affront by the family of the deceased husband or wife. It appears that the bereaved family resented a quick remarriage as a show of disrespect to the dead. The kinsmen of a deceased wife reportedly resented such an act quite as strongly as did the relatives of a deceased husband, therefore reducing the possibility that the marriage gift was a factor. If a widow remarried too soon, her former in-laws could demand presents from the widow's new husband according to Spier (1928, p. 223), but present informants declare that the reverse situation also applied. In the words of an old man, both the length of time involved and the manner of contracting the next marriage were important factors to consider if one wished to avoid trouble with the kinsmen of a deceased spouse:

> If a man died after three or four years of marriage, and his widow remarried right away, the first husband's father or brother would shoot the new husband's horse. The new husband would have nothing to say because he would know he was in the wrong. If a widow was really in love and wanted to do the right thing, she asked the man she wanted to marry to arrange it with her dead husband's family. He would pay them a price about the same as they had paid her family. Then it was all right. The dead man's parents didn't want his widow to remain unmarried. They just wanted her to wait a year to two before she remarried.
>
> It was the same thing if a young wife died and her husband wanted to remarry right away. He could go to her parents and pay them a price, and it would be all right. If they asked sixty dollars, and he had only fifteen, he could offer the fifteen and promise the rest

in a short time or whenever he could pay it. If he remarried without saying anything to them, they could ask him for money or shoot his horse or mule.

Neither the levirate nor the sororate is practiced today. No record was obtained of compensation for early remarriage of a widow or widower being made in recent years.

In summary, goods presented or service rendered by the groom have some features of bride price or suitor service revealed, specifically, in the private opinion of some men that they were buying a wife, in the occasional practice of the levirate, and in the part played by a deceased husband's kinsmen in the remarriage of his widow. However, it appears that both goods and services were gifts rather than prices. While a man usually considered it an obligation to compensate the bride's parents, he was able to marry without so doing, and while parents normally expected to receive compensation, they did not, and probably could not, have demanded it. Perhaps the meager economy was responsible for this looseness of arrangement; in any event, a man did not have to delay marriage until he could afford a bridal payment. Nor did the absence of a gift or the value of what was given significantly affect either the public prestige of a bride or groom, the position of a bride in her husband's household, or the relationship between the groom and his wife's family. The aspect of obligation does not make either goods or services rendered a price since gift giving also usually involves obligation. This absence of a fixed pattern of rights and duties on each side is consistent with the general looseness or lack of precise definition pertaining in the total culture.

V. TYPES OF MARRIAGE

As described in the foregoing section, the levirate and the sororate were sometimes practiced in former times, the levirate occurring more regularly.

While the predominant type of marriage was always monogamy, polygyny was also fairly common. Spier (1928, p. 224) states that seven polygynous households were remembered by his informants and that, presumably, this would approximate the number of such unions during a life span. All seven of these men had two wives each. Spier's informants had heard of men with three wives but personally knew no such family.

One informant now in middle age recalls five men who had two wives each, and a sixth man, Chief Navaho (who died about 1900) who had three wives. However, unknown to present informants, Chief Navaho may have lived with only two of these women at one time. Spier's informants were Navaho's contemporaries and probably would not have overlooked mentioning him if he had lived with all three women simultaneously.

Only those men who had much could afford two wives, and, reportedly, polygynous households "had enough but were a little poor." Some men married a second wife to have the extra help while others "liked another woman for herself." The first wife was considered the head wife, but in practice both wives were about equal. If the women constantly had trouble, the second wife should leave but, usually, a husband decided to keep the one he "loved best" or the one who "acted nicer." Since the women shared the same hogan or occupied two hogans in a common

camp area, it was desirable that they live in peace. Sisters, reportedly, got along better than unrelated wives. However, Spier's informants thought "one arrangement was as harmonious as another" (Spier, 1928, p. 224).

When a man wished to take a second wife, he might or might not consult his first wife. He usually did as he pleased in any event. If his wife refused, or if she disliked his marrying a second wife, she could leave him. Her relatives would not insist that she return to him in this case.

Arrangements for a second wife were carried out like those for a first wife except that temporary matrilocal residence was omitted. If a man asked for his wife's sister, her parents might let her go without a gift, but usually they expected something.

New polygynous unions, discouraged by administrative personnel and missionaries, were not formed after establishment of the reservation until very recent years. However, an example now exists which, in the absence of restraints, undoubtedly would be a polygynous marriage. The man in question has been married for approximately twenty years to a childless woman. Since about 1952, he has divided his time between this wife and a younger woman who has three illegitimate children. The last two, and possibly the first child (born in 1949), are publicly credited to this man, who readily claims paternity. The man has repeatedly left his wife only to return to her, and, on the other hand, he has had open rifts with the mother of his children. Both women have voiced changes of opinion

concerning what they want the man to do about the situation. Reportedly, they have also had changes of attitude toward one another, first maligning, then sympathizing with one another by turns. Personal meetings between the two are infrequent because they live in different communities. It was not learned whether or not they seek to avoid such meetings. During recent years, the man has spent short periods alternately with them, but he actually maintains separate residence from both women. Public sentiment is that he should divorce his wife and marry the second woman, "because she had all those children for him and his wife has none."

Exchange marriage is said to have been common in former times. Ideally, two brothers married two sisters or siblings of opposite sex married a similar pair. Occasionally, other classes of relatives made exchange marriages. Of the latter type was an exchange marriage, occurring about 1910, in which cousins of opposite sex, Billy and Sarah Burro, married a niece and uncle, Lily Wodo and Mike Mooney respectively. In this example, Sarah was an orphan who had been reared by her cousin, Billy, and his wife. When Billy was left a widower, he and Mike Mooney, also a widower, arranged the exchange. (The men were both about twenty years older than the two girls.)

Lily Wodo had been reared by her own parents who were still living at her marriage. Because she already had a lover, Lily objected violently to the marriage, fighting and running away, but her parents used force persistently until she submitted to the inevitable. Lily's husband, Billy, gave fifty

dollars to her father; Billy himself received nothing from Mike Mooney for Sarah Burro, the cousin to whom he had acted in the capacity of guardian.

Ordinarily, in an exchange marriage no gifts would have been given, but in this example, a guardian traded his ward to a man whose female relative had no similar obligation to him. The parents of the latter bride expected and received a gift from her husband. Logically, it appears that her uncle, Mike Mooney, should have given something to Lily's father in lieu of a marriage gift from her groom or should have made some settlement with Billy in compensation for the fifty dollars, but if he did the latter it was not known by present informants.

This marriage was characterized by interfamilial exchange of two girls of quite different situations in their respective families, a factor which seemingly voided one of the usual features of exchange marriages, that is, absence of marriage gifts.

There are a number of marriages between two pairs of siblings, cousins, or other relatives which were not contracted as exchange marriages. These usually took place at different times, sometimes several years apart, the second marriage apparently being contracted completely independent of the first. Such marriages may occur with some frequency merely because the members of any particular kin group are closely related to all but a few other kinship groups.

However, no form of preferential marriage between persons in particular kinship categories exists at present, nor is any such form reported for an earlier period. As set forth in the discussion of lineages (pp. 66-71), the adoption and use of surnames by the last few generations makes it impossible for families to overlook certain paternal connections. Recognition of close maternal relatives, together with a continuing reduction in the number of family names occurring within the tribe through the operation of certain biological laws and sociological practices, will further limit the number of unrelated, marriageable persons in coming generations. If the Havasupai retain their identity as a tribal unit, it is almost certain that these factors will make necessary an increase in intertribal marriages. Along with this, however, it is possible that some form of preferential marriage between persons of certain relationships may be developed.

VI. AVAILABILITY AND AGE OF MARRIAGE PARTNERS

Inbalance in the sex ratio exists at birth and is significant in later age brackets relative both to availability and age of possible marriage partners.

Spier (1928, p. 209) found twice as many men as women between the ages of twenty and forty-five in the 1920 population. (His census, made during the 1918 to 1921 period, was not dated exactly; 1920 is assumed here for convenience.)

While Spier wrote that the observed deficiency in women apparently had developed over the previous two decades, he

noted that, for the total Havasupai population, the 1905 ratio was 145 males to 100 females, and the 1906 ratio was 151 males to 100 females indicating a previous inbalance in an unspecified age group or in the total population. He reported that the "Thirteenth Census (1910) gives /an/ abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes." (Spier observed that Hrdlicka, on the contrary, had found in the 1900 census an excess of females over males after age fifty-five among all Indian tribes.)

Recorded data for the past decade, and data obtained for about a decade immediately preceding it, reveal a significantly higher proportion of Havasupai males in the ratio at birth, with a consistently higher infant and early childhood mortality rate for males. In the 1950 population below age ten, the group total was fifty-five males and twenty-eight females, almost exactly two males to each female. Between the ages of ten and fifty, a nearly balanced sex ratio pertains in all age brackets.

Spier (1928, p. 209) found that above and below the ages of twenty and forty-five the sexes were nearly equal in the 1920 population. Equality in the specific population observed by him below age twenty (thirty to fifty years of age in 1950) and above age forty-five (over seventy-five years of age in 1950) has continued to the present time.

Among possible causes of excess males among the Havasupai, female infanticide must be ruled out because the inequality did not appear below the age of twenty in the 1920

population, and since that time the sexes have been equal in number at that age. Although a few young women were stolen now and then by enemy tribes in past times, the number kidnapped in a given generation probably was insignificant, and such raids would have ceased before the turn of the century, thus having no bearing on the twenty to forty-five year age bracket of 1920. A cause which suggests itself for the particular group in question is the measles epidemic which reduced the 1903 population of 237 to 177 in 1905 if, for some reason, fatalities were much greater among females than among males. Unfortunately, the investigator has obtained no record of individual deaths at that time. However, (and this is purely hypothetical) if female deaths were greatly in excess of males in that epidemic, it is suggested that males might have gained relatively more immunity or resistance to the disease because they more frequently came in contact with the Anglo-American population, especially outside the canyon where they went to purchase supplies and to work. Case histories reveal that, even as children, males might go along on trips to white communities while females remained at home.

Above the age of fifty, longevity and survival rate of males over females is marked, but it should be noted that the 1950 population above that age is comprised almost entirely of the group Spier observed at the ages of twenty to forty-five which, in 1920, had a ratio of two men to one woman. Thus, the present inbalance in the older age levels developed while these generations were passing through earlier age brackets

and is not a recent development except that the age ratio has become more marked in favor of males as the group advanced in age. Spier (1928, p. 209) suggests possible loss in childbirth to explain the discrepancy noted by him. Available data reveal that, despite the larger number of males born, by the age of twenty the sex ratio has reached a balance throughout the last thirty year period and that, in the group now between twenty and fifty, it has maintained that balance. This may support Spier's thesis since it is this age group that has had the first improved medical care in childbirth and various feminine disorders.

Inbalance in the sex ratio is a problem for further study. Records of births and infant deaths obtained by this investigator are complete only for recent years, because written records were not available for earlier generations and such data, recited from memory, are incomplete and subject to error at best.

Leaving the subject of inbalance in the sex ratio for a moment, it seems in order to examine recorded data showing ages at marriage and the age difference between spouses in the Havasupai population. But first, a word concerning the cultural ideal.

Spier's informant, Sinyella, said that parents formerly sought postponement of marriage until their sons were young adults (Spier, 1928, p. 223). Sinyella himself was twenty-five at his marriage, an age which parents approved. "The girls should be the same," Sinyella said, "perhaps seventeen years old."

Spier brands as a fallacy the opinion prevalent during his observation that young people of previous generations married later in life. Most informants at the present time insist that in earlier days marriageable age was twenty-five or thirty for women and thirty-five or forty for men, but this is probably spurious. Ages given by Sinyella appear more reasonable, and some marriages at even earlier ages probably occurred in former times just as they do now. The reason given for such late marriage as that quoted above for former times is that younger people were not prepared ("did not know enough") to take care of themselves and to teach their children. This seems unlikely in view of a couple's residence with one set of parents or the other, and the active role normally taken by grandparents in the rearing of grandchildren.

It was considered ideal that a husband be his wife's senior by three or four up to seven or eight years. In practice little heed was paid to this, the age difference sometimes being less or much greater. It might be much greater if a man's second or third wife had not been previously married. Seniority could also favor the female. In a few marriages the wife is older by one or more years, the greatest difference in present day examples being a woman seven years older than her husband.

Because marriage records are incomplete, the mean age at marriage for either sex has not been determined for the total Havasupai marriage population at any point in time including the present. However, data concerning a substantial

majority of the population can be shown for the last decade, and Spier's records furnish a reliable basis for a long view of factors which appear to be operative relative to age and availability of marriage partners.

Only one source earlier in date than Spier's report was available to this investigator, that being a marriage record book at the sub-agency in Supai in which a former agent had recorded nine marriages occurring from 1910 to 1914. For seven of these marriages, ages were recorded or were obtainable from other sources for both bride and groom. (See Table V, pp. 219-220, for comparison presented in the following discussion.)

In this sample of seven marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 26.8 years, for the five previously unmarried males 22.4 years, and for females 15.0 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses among the seven couples was 11.8 years and among the five couples of previously unmarried spouses was 6.6 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages twenty-one to twenty-five while the previously married grooms were thirty-five and forty-one years old. The youngest bride was age twelve and the eldest eighteen.

For comparison, data pertaining to twelve marriages contracted between 1950 and 1954 are presented. Ages were not obtained for spouses in two marriages which were intertribal. A third marriage in which the wife was the elder is considered separately, leaving a sample of nine marriages. In these nine

TABLE V

MEAN AGE OF SPOUSES AT MARRIAGE

PART I

Mean Age at Marriage for Couples
Whether previously Married or Unmarried

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (7 couples)	26.8 years	15.0 years	11.8 years
1950-54 (9 couples)	30.5 years	19.1 years	11.0 years

PART II

Mean Age at Marriage for Couples
in which both Spouses Previously Unmarried

Date	Husbands	Wives	Mean Age Difference Between Spouses
1910-14 (5 couples)	22.4 years	15.0 years	6.6 years
1950-54 (5 couples)	24.6 years	17.0 years	7.6 years

TABLE V (continued)

PART III

Mean Age at Marriage for All Previously Unmarried Individuals (All presently married persons who have not been previously married, regardless of whether their spouses have been previously married.)

Date	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (5 men, 5 women)	22.4 years	15.0 years
1950-54 (7 men, 7 women)	27.3 years	17.3 years

PART IV

	Mean Age at Marriage for Previously Married Individuals		Mean Age at Marriage of New Spouses of Previously Married Individuals	
Date	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
1910-14 (2 men)	38.0 years			13.0 years
1950-54 (3 men, 4 women)	39.3 years	30.0 years	35.6 years	22.7 years

marriages, the mean age at marriage for all males was 30.5 years, for seven previously unmarried males 27.3 years, for all nine females 19.1 years, and for seven previously unmarried females 17.3 years. The mean difference in age between individual pairs of spouses in the group of nine was 11.0 years.

In five of the latter group of seven marriages, neither spouse had been previously married. The mean difference in age between the five pairs of spouses was 7.6 years. In these five marriages, mean age for males was 24.6 years and for females 17.0 years. Males marrying for the first time ranged from ages nineteen to thirty-four. Previously unmarried females ranged from fourteen to twenty years of age. Previously married grooms were twenty-nine to fifty years old with a mean age of 39.3 years, while previously married brides were twenty-six to thirty-six years of age with a mean of 30.0 years. (Included in the latter group is a couple in which the wife is two years older than her husband. She has been married before and was the mother of six children, the first two of whom were illegitimate, while her husband has not been previously married.)

In summary, comparison of the foregoing data reveals that both males and females marrying in 1950-54 were approximately four years older than those marrying in 1910-14, but it cannot be concluded from such a small sample that this necessarily indicates a trend. In both periods, the mean age difference between individual spouses was approximately the same.

Previously married males in the 1910-14 group were older by 15.6 years than were males marrying for the first

time. In the 1950-54 group, previously married males were 12.0 years older than males marrying for the first time. These figures do not indicate a significant change, but of some importance may be the data showing that in the earlier group, men with a mean age of 38.0 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of only 13.0 years, while in the later group, men with a mean age of 39.3 years were marrying their second or third wives who had a mean age of 22.7 years. The latter age for wives is several years above the mean age for females at marriage for the general group of 1950-54 which, in turn, is several years above that for females in the general group of 1910-14. This could well be a reflection of the diminishing role parents are playing in marriage arrangements. It appears to indicate that, when permitted some freedom of choice, girls less readily marry men much older than themselves.

Men in the earlier time period were marrying second or third wives twenty-five years, or a generation, their junior, a circumstance which strongly suggests that friendship between the groom and the bride's father was more significant than that between bride and groom and that fathers were not unwilling to see their daughters married at an early age to men they personally favored. Today, with marriages being arranged by bride and groom, girls choose husbands nearer their own age. Also, girls defer marriage until they themselves are nearly ten years older than brides of earlier years.

Greater longevity of males and their tendency to re-

marry if widowed or divorced are factors effecting both age and availability of marriage partners in the entire population.

In the 1950 population, only nine of the men over fifty years of age failed to remarry after being widowed or divorced. Of these nine, five had been married more than once. There were sixteen married men, only six of whom were still living with their first wives. Seven men were married to a second wife, two were with a third wife, and one man was with his fifth wife, the latter having been twice divorced and twice widowed. Eight, or half, of the married men had wives more than ten years younger than themselves. Eleven men had married women younger than fifty. Because the sex ratio is nearly balanced for adults below fifty, marriage of so many older men to wives so much younger than themselves creates a shortage of marital partners for men in the younger age groups.

In the present adult population, there are six marriages with a wide age difference, the husbands ranging from fifteen to forty-one years older than the wives. All six men have been married once or twice previously while five of the women are in their first marriages. Only two of the women themselves chose their husbands, the other three marriages having been arranged between the wife's parents and the prospective grooms.

Men of middle age or older have more property than younger men and, therefore, may be willing to give a girl's parents a more generous gift than a younger suitor could

afford. It is even possible that an older man might give more liberally for a wife for himself than for his son. (This has not been investigated.) Also, an older man may have the advantage of being a friend, or at least an acquaintance of long standing, of the prospective bride's father.

A primary factor limiting availability of marriage partners is kinship. In such a small population group, every person must be distantly related to every other person, but this has been recognized or conceded by few informants and only under rather pointed questioning. While relationship prohibits marriage between first cousins in nearly all cases, second and third cousins occasionally marry, and it appears that fourth and fifth cousins marry with some frequency, being only vaguely, if at all, aware that they are related.

Nearly all women are able to marry if they wish to do so. In the 1955 population, there are only nine unmarried women over the age of thirty. Two of them, both under thirty-five, have never been married. One of these two apparently makes no sexual alliances and is unusually shy and withdrawn, while the other is too closely related to nearly all males eligible in other respects and, in addition, is economically self-supporting and better educated than most of the men.[5]

Two of the above nine are divorced women. One of these has three adult patrilocal sons to care for her, and the

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[5]Since this chapter was written, the latter of these two unmarried women has married a Havasupai man equal to herself in education. He was divorced and had been working for several years in neighboring Anglo-American towns. He is eight years her senior.

other, divorced for barrenness, may have a difficult time remarrying, although two younger women, divorced for that reason, have remarried.

The remaining five women are widows. The youngest widow, age forty-six, has been alone only three years. The next youngest, age forty-four, is a continuous trouble maker, and some informants think that her deceased husband regretted marrying her. The older widows are fifty-three, fifty-seven, and eighty-six, all of them having close relatives to help them economically.

By contrast, in the 1955 population eighteen men over thirty years of age are unmarried. This number includes six widowers, seven divorced men, and five men who have never been married, two of whom are considered odd, while another is blind. Two of the eighteen men are under thirty-five years of age. Seven are between thirty and forty-three years old, and the remaining eleven are between fifty-three and eighty years. Nine of the eighteen live alone or in households having no woman, some of them caring for dependent children, grandchildren, or other homeless children more distantly related. Eight men apparently have no permanent residence, some spending part of their time in all-male households and some working temporarily or permanently off the reservation where they may live alone or with relatives.

At present, then, there are twice as many men as women of unmarried status. It is doubtful that relationship prohibits all twenty-seven individuals from marriage. It appears,

instead, that the majority of both men and women in this group refrain from marriage by choice. In all cases it seems to be economically unnecessary. Nearly all of the older persons receive pensions or monetary allotments, and the men may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time thirteen women and ten men are married intertribally. These twenty-three individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from twenty to eighty.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

VII. MARITAL RESIDENCE

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau

for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of twelve married sons being attached to these seven households. Among these twelve extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until

TABLE VI

RESIDENCE OF FAMILY HEADS IN RESPECT TO AGE

Age Groups	Family Heads		
	Off Reservation	On Reservation	
	Male	Male	Female
75-79		3	
70-74	1	4	
65-69	1		1
60-64	2	7	1
55-59	1	1	1
50-54		4	
45-49	3		1
40-44	5		1
35-39	5	1	
30-34	3		1
25-29	2		
20-24	1		
Totals	24	20	6

he had completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and step-mother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households.

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically.

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present

trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance.

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Havasu Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table VI (p. 228) reveals that family heads occupying land in Havasu Canyon include the older tribal members while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over fifty years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than forty-five years. However, most, or perhaps all, of these fifteen men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than fifty-five years. The families living outside Havasu Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of Anglo-American acculturation and the importance of

money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than a small percentage of those now living independently will ever return to the reservation. The small acreage which each of them would inherit makes a mass return prohibitive, for they could not then live up to their present economic standard.

VIII. DIVORCE

Informants assert that in former times there were few divorces. Spier (1928, p. 224) reported that informants denied the practice, but he noted several examples of separations. Records of former generations collected at the present time show a number of divorces which may have been separations following trial marriages.

Formerly, divorce was proclaimed on a public occasion (such as at a gambling session) when each party stated his or her side of the case. Although this formality is now seldom carried out, an example was observed at the harvest celebration in 1951 when a shaman wished to divorce his Walapai wife after several years of marriage marked by other disputes and separations.

About noon when the group was assembling for dinner, the shaman stated his charges at some length saying he wanted his wife to leave but that she refused. That night at the round dance, his wife made a brief statement that she did not wish to leave him but that he was making her do so. The following day she left Supai. (About a year later this couple was reunited.)

This was in no sense merely a public quarrel. Both husband and wife were present on both occasions but neither replied to the other, and all spectators kept their own counsel.

The reason for divorce in former times usually was adultery. It was almost always the man who left his wife, either because she was the offender, or because he preferred another woman. Usually a husband cut the hair of his adulterous wife two or three inches from her head and beat her as well. Then he killed a horse belonging to his rival or beat the man up. One informant added, "If the other man didn't say anything back to the husband about the dead horse, then it could be forgotten, and sometime they could be friends again."

If a woman learned that her husband had been engaged in an affair with another woman, she would be angry and might leave. She would stay with her relatives or friends for awhile, then would return. Sometimes the relatives would force her to return although they knew her husband was at fault.

> If there was a wise man, he might talk to the man and woman, especially to the man, and tell him not to do that any more. A wise man was usually an older man related to the wife--or it might be an older woman instead.

Sometimes a couple separated for several years and then remarried.

It is said that in a divorce, regardless of who was at fault, the wife almost always kept small children and

girls while older boys might also stay with her to help. A father usually continued contributing something to the support of his children by giving them food and making their clothing. The maternal grandfather was expected to take primary responsibility for the children, however, and the paternal grandfather usually helped if he could. Occasionally, the children's father did nothing for them.

Today divorce is most frequently attributed to adultery, and it is often the husband who leaves an erring wife. However, if a wife is having an affair with another man, she may initiate a separation to continue her affair unopposed or to marry her lover. If a man is the offender, his wife usually berates him, but few women leave a husband for this reason. Occasionally, a short separation takes place until the wife puts aside her resentment.

In two recent divorces in which the wife was the offender, the wife clearly has custody of the children and the husband probably gives them some help financially. In both examples, the children visit their fathers for short periods. The paternal grandmother, in one instance, has custody of the youngest child who was her favorite; it is the grandmother rather than the father who has custody. The children in both families were separated among various relatives at the time of the divorce but joined their mother as soon as she remarried.

Although Spier (1928, p. 225) reports that divorce for barrenness was unheard of, at least two divorces in the last decade have been attributed to this. When one of the barren

women married again, her second husband left her for the same reason, "married" a Walapai woman one winter, but returned to his Havasupai wife the next summer. The couple has been separated several times. Probably further research would reveal similar cases in the recent past.

Spier (1928, p. 225) notes that if a wife were barren, a man took a second woman to have children. A case supporting Spier's statement exists today, although the practice of polygyny officially ceased long ago. This case, presented previously, was of uncertain status for some time. An unmarried girl bore the man several children while he was living with his barren wife. Then for a time, it was said that the married couple was divorced. Public opinion favored the divorce and the man's marriage to the girl who had borne his children. While one informant quoted the wife as saying she wanted her husband to marry the other girl, a second informant remarked, "It seems like his wife's hanging onto him when he ought to marry P_____ and help her raise his children." As previously noted, the solution seems to be an unofficial polygynous marriage with the man visiting the women alternately although, at present, he actually lives alone in a separate house and a different location.

It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of divorces among the Havasupai because of the uncertain status of marriage previously described under Trial Marriage. Numerous cases were recorded of "marriages" which terminated after a few weeks or a few months. Occasionally,

matrilocal or patrilocal residence was practiced, but frequently, such a marriage occurred during summer employment at Grand Canyon and terminated at the end of the season, or was of equally indefinite character. Individuals often neglected to mention such marriages or denied them if questioned, but occasionally they would admit that they had considered it a real marriage at the time and ended it because they didn't get along.

In the present population, marriages of couples with children appear much more stable when the numerous early divorces are taken into account. However, this statement may be misleading: nearly all married couples have children after a few years together, and most divorces occur in the first months of marriage (following trial marriage) when, obviously, the absence of children is not a factor.

At present three childless women are married to men of other tribes and two men are married to women of other tribes who have borne them no children. Two older women, married for many years, remain barren. One of them is the polygynous wife previously discussed, and the other kept house for her husband's two nearly adult sons and helped care for his grandchildren. Another woman had four children all of whom died in infancy. A fourth woman had a family by her first husband and may have been beyond childbearing age when she married her present husband. A fifth woman, still young, was divorced by her first husband for barrenness and was once separated from her present husband for the same reason.

Three brides of the last five years have had no children as yet. All other Havasupai wives have children by their present husbands.

Six divorces involving children are described in Chapter II. In the present population, all divorced mothers, save one, have remarried, and two divorced, barren women have remarried while a third has not.[6] Six divorced men, five of them fathers, are at present unmarried. One of the latter five men is now rearing two illegitimate children of his deceased daughter. One man lives alone, another lives with his mother, two work permanently in Anglo-American towns, and the one childless man lives with relatives. Clearly, divorced women, despite having children attached to them, tend to remarry. While the divorced men in this group have remained unmarried with one exception until the present, they also will probably remarry if a prediction is based on the example of older men who were once divorced.

IX. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE

Women cite industry and property ownership as important considerations in choosing a husband. While young girls are impressed by a boy's skill with a lariat and his horsemanship, they also desire a husband who will "work hard and be a

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[6] A communication, received after the above was written, reported that this third barren woman is now reunited with her husband. After leaving her, he had married a divorcee with several children who subsequently bore him a son. Some time after the death of his child, he left his second wife to return to his first.

good provider" and who owns or will inherit land and horses.

Women report that men seek a wife who is a good cook and who has a pleasant disposition. Men themselves mention, first, cooking ability, and second, personal appearance ("not too skinny and a pretty face"), rating disposition last.

The traits mentioned reflect the cultural ideal of industry and probably are those most prized by persons of sober experience or mature judgment. However, both men and women seem to marry largely on the basis of physical attractiveness or sexual interest. Virtually everyone marries at least once, and competition among members of either sex for particular marital partners outstanding in the ideal characteristics does not appear to be great.

A girl learns from infancy the patterns of thought, speech, and action which will fit her for a role of submissiveness toward all males in the social group, in the kinship group, and most of all toward her future husband.

The attitudes of ambivalence previously discussed apparently influence some girls to an initially unfavorable disposition toward their change of status. However, a woman enters marriage with a substantial understanding of her husband's expectations, and further, of what her own rights and privileges are. She is able to assume her economic roles at once and approaches them with a cooperative attitude.

Cultural division of labor places responsibility for most work upon one sex or the other, but husbands and wives share certain activities, one assisting the other upon

suggestion or request or on his or her own initiative.

Emphasis placed on the division of labor is not such that a man feels his participation in ordinarily feminine tasks detracts from his masculine dignity, and men may assist with camp work including food preparation. A man does not customarily command or direct his wife in her work. A young wife assists her mother or mother-in-law in camp work, but she has a certain independence even in this situation. A woman's independence increases as she advances in age and finally becomes mistress of her own household.

Havasupai culture prescribes no precise or formal pattern of personal service which a wife is obliged or privileged to perform for her husband either in daily routine or on ceremonial or other special occasions. Her work is perceived as work for the family unit rather than as attendance upon her husband specifically.

While a husband, in his dominant male role, exercises authority over his wife, and she must concede to his superior physical strength in matters of conflict, this does not imply that a Havasupai husband rules his wife with an iron fist. Personalities of both husband and wife are factors in every instance, it being possible to discover couples matched in a wide variety of temperaments from dominant husband-submissive wife to dominant wife-milquetoast husband. The larger proportion of couples fall between these two extremes with various shadings of adjustment to one another. A woman may contrive to win her own way by employing cleverness or such

wiles as her temperament or intelligence may suggest.

A cultural ideal of wifely obedience is recognized by women who generally judge others of their sex on this standard but are unwilling or unable to perceive that it is equally applicable to themselves. Personal conflict situations arouse them to jealous defense of their own interests. The expressed ideal thus does not pervade the feminine mind to the extent that women individually form habits of automatic submission precluding recognition of self-interest. Instead, a wife weighs her desires and emotions and fights back in any way she can, often in the prospect of certain defeat or eventual compliance. Wifely submission of this type is a yielding to the inevitable rather than a willing or dutiful obedience.

Marital conflict is resolved as a private issue between husband and wife. While the social group takes no action, even in examples of extreme abuse or negligence, and public opinion supports husbandly dominance and use of force, kinsmen of the disputants may sometimes admonish a husband or seek to reconcile a rebellious wife. Relatives seldom resort to force in settling a marital dispute, although quarreling and occasional fighting between a spouse and his or her in-law kin group does occur, with both sets of in-laws sometimes becoming involved. Plainly, a wife's submission is reinforced in the culture by pressure of public opinion, expressed sentiment of a kinship group, and application of force by a husband.

Many marriages are eventually strengthened by bonds of affection or of mutual regard even when a marriage was arranged

by parents or was not based on personal attraction. If affection does not exist in the beginning, it often develops with long association, and couples may cooperate in consideration of their mutual regard or in a desire for peaceful coexistence.

On the whole, married couples appear to maintain predominantly harmonious relationships although in a few instances, marriages are punctuated regularly and frequently by discord. It may be said, in general, that unions of greater duration are less susceptible to serious dispute, but peaceful relationships may be counted also among younger couples.

CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

I. CONCEPTION AND PREGNANCY

In earlier days women counted their menstrual periods by the changes of the moon. In the same way, the length of pregnancy was calculated by the moon. If a woman missed her menstrual period during one moon she suspected pregnancy, and a second miss was considered almost a positive indication.

Intercourse was recognized as the cause of pregnancy. While a few individuals think conception is possible from one exposure, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps more, are necessary to conception. Conception occurs when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sack in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is present there at certain times which are especially favorable (or dangerous) as fertility periods.

An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she explained. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy

"so the baby will grow good".

If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers", asserted one informant.

None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquisition of a soul.

There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women foretell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is perceived by a small child and is revealed by any act of embarrassment or shyness, such as covering the face with the hands, which the child performs at sight of a pregnant woman. The unborn child is said to be of opposite sex to the child so acting, "and that is why that little child acts embarrassed."

Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others agreed that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer although she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told the investigator that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951 was halted in this manner by her neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time.

By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind.

Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time."

Spier (1928, p. 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself."

Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or ten days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would

be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses. "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage--. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or prescribed for one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

Eating nuts (originally pinons) would cause a baby to become too fat and have "too much grease under its chin, on its arms and ears" so it would "stick" and birth would be difficult. One mentioned that stealing food or talking about stealing would cause the baby to grow too fat and the birth to be difficult.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about ten days after birth or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

Both parents, but especially the mother, during

pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading "funny papers" to avoid seeing "something awful". Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth nor afterward until a baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or no salt is fed to babies as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

After birth of her child a woman drinks soup to bring and maintain milk in her breasts. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics, as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto". There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things nor earrings should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin.

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass", and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly.

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning a child of either sex is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races.

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt riding will not cause miscarriage. Women leaving the canyon for childbirth in a hospital ride horseback either eight or fourteen miles during the latter weeks of pregnancy.

Left-handedness can be caused by a mother reaching

for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician.

Spier (1928, pp. 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with Alfred's life and normal development.

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that", would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed like two pieces on a single stem or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or

turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known, and no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Spier (1928, p. 301) reports that sexual relations are improper during pregnancy. Informants at the present time assert that continence was observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagreed on the time interval placing it from only a month before birth to as much as the latter five or six months of pregnancy. All agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they agreed that it was undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach", they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo somewhat after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

There was some difference of opinion among informants, however. One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights), this regular frequency being about right for the well-being of both child and mother. She declared, however, that

strict continence should be observed for a month after birth, but from then until the child walked, intercourse was permissible "once in awhile but not too often because that would make another baby too soon."

II. CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION

Spier (1928, p. 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He stated further that "one does not pray for children."

However, informants now report that in former times as at present, women used several methods of contraception. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking the taboos believed to cause barrenness. During menstruation a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, sought solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information has not yet been checked with the woman in

question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

Informant I:

I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

Then it was time to gather pinon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work, but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old.

Informant II:

After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, "I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again." After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it

that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after.

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. An informant denied that this is ever done today, but one recent case was reported from another source. This method may be tried repeatedly but is not always successful.

III. CHILDBIRTH

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations.

A shaman does not attend a normal birth. If a woman appears in danger of death or if delivery is prolonged or seems impossible, a shaman is called. He "listens to the baby,

then he sings for the woman and sends the grandmother spirit[7] in through her head to see if the baby is sitting right. If it isn't, the spirit turns it right when the medicine man sings to it."

Preparation for birth includes assembling soapweed, red rocks and fat or suet for paint, firewood, rocks and water to heat, a tool for cutting the umbilical cord, a waist band or belt for the mother, a cradleboard, and blankets for the baby. The husband or father of the expectant mother usually gathers soapweed and rocks a week or so beforehand. The rocks are heated, cooled, and ground to powder then mixed with fat or suet, or today, with vaseline or cold cream. In earlier days if a woven Hopi belt were not available, a wide buckskin band was cut. A bed of damp sand and old blankets is prepared over a hole filled with heated rocks, inside the house if the weather is cool. In former times a post (or two posts about two feet apart) was set in the sleeping area of the house, but this is no longer done.

During the early stage of labor an expectant mother usually goes about her work. As labor advances, she walks about until the pains become hard and close together when she sits in whatever position seems easiest. Her relatives or attendants gather, and the woman may rest in a semi-supine posture with legs extended and back reclining against a post or a mound of bedding, or she may be supported by someone seated behind her, often her husband or mother. During the

[7]Every shaman has two spirit familiars, a little boy and a grandmother, to help in diagnosing and healing. The grandmother spirit commonly assists when a patient is female.

hardest pains, in former times, the woman gripped the post or pulled on a strap tied to the post. During a normal delivery, it is reported no attempt is made to guide or hurry the baby's arrival, but if labor is prolonged or difficult, during each pain gentle pressure is applied to the woman's abdomen by an attendant sitting behind or kneeling beside her. Today the woman's husband does not do this unless he is experienced or no other help is near. However, Spier (1928, p. 300) reported that, "The mother assists the delivery, squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the abdomen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success a husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied to the front and sides."

During labor the expectant mother's body is kept covered, and as one informant explained, "No one looks to see how the baby is coming like the white doctors do. The women don't like that. The woman feels the baby coming and tells the others, but they don't look till the baby is all out." During delivery the woman squats with her husband holding her up. If a mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it.

Spier (1928, p. 300) reports "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed

in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved.

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise.

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress to be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat insures the flowing of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery was difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts.

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After

four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

Much has been made of the primitive woman's stoicism in childbirth. With this in mind, remarks of a few Havasupai women are quoted:

> Girls are usually scared of having their first baby. They don't think of being proud about it.
>
> It was harder to have babies in the old days than now. The women had worse times.
>
> Gee, it's awful. The pain is so bad you just don't know what to do. With the first one I cried and hollered. They say it is easier with the second and third ones, but it is just the same. I tried my best not to holler out loud, but I cried a little. (This woman has had twelve children.)
>
> I think it hurts some women more than others. Some of them make a fuss and some don't. I think some have babies pretty easy. I heard of a white woman who had one and cut the cord herself. I guess she wasn't afraid to have it alone.

At present, quite a number of births take place in a hospital outside the canyon. In such cases the bathing and face painting are not carried out later, but women usually take along an abdominal band to wear at the first opportunity. Popular opinion favors attendance by an Anglo-American doctor, but the journey to a hospital is a long one and for that or other reasons many women still give birth at home. It is recognized that a hospital birth is safest if anything irregular happens to mother or infant. In recent years, two emergency cases have been airlifted by helicopter to medical attention, but there are times when telephone service is interrupted and no help can be summoned quickly.

Several cases of death incident to childbirth prior to 1930 were described in detail, the causes apparently being hemorrhage or everted uterus in several instances. In one case, pregnancy had extended about two months beyond the expected time and the woman died after several days of labor. In 1922 a woman who was badly injured in childbirth ("torn up behind her rectum and her intestines came out, too") happened to be in the Indian camp at Grand Canyon so the Anglo-American doctor was called, and he repaired the damage and saved the woman's life. Another woman, unattended, died in a similar condition. Apparently, these two cases caused the Havasupai to consider seriously the advantages of a hospital confinement. About 1927 a young woman died in Supai following childbirth. In the words of one woman: "Some part of her came out with the baby. The next day she was sick, in pain, and couldn't get up. She kept bleeding and died about a week later. At that time no women went out to white doctors. People started going out because when things went wrong at times in the canyon, they could do nothing to help and the woman always died." This death seems to have furnished the final impetus. Women voluntarily overcame their scruples against being "looked at" by an Anglo-American physician and other qualms they had entertained regarding the foreign routine of a hospital. In the early 1930's women began to travel to hospitals for confinement.

IV. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILDREN

Although a Havasupai mother's waking hours are mostly occupied with household tasks, the pace of activity is slow. Much of her work centers about the care of her children, and the nature of most tasks is such that she can be within sight and hearing of her children most of the time.

Cooking and much of a woman's other work is accomplished under a brush shelter or in the open, and family activities thus are centered in the outdoor camp area in good weather. Because of this a Havasupai mother spends nearly all of her waking hours in close association with her small children after they are able to run about freely. Houses are used for shelter in inclement weather, but otherwise they serve mostly as sleeping quarters and storage space. A married woman has no round of daily household cleaning and other tasks to isolate her from her children who, like all children, wish to spend most of their time outdoors.

A mother keeps her cradled infant close at hand where as she works, she can talk to it, fondle it, and take it up at her whim or the baby's signal. She permits her child the freedom of the camp area as it learns to crawl and then to walk, but always its mother is the center of a small child's play orbit.

A mother may lavish somewhat more attention on her first child or two merely because she has less work to do and other children are not competing for time. A young mother in an extended household receives some assistance in child care

from her mother or mother-in-law as well as from other women and young girls of the kin group. Normally, a mother assumes the primary responsibility for all of her own children, but there is always some relative who will care for her children if she is unwilling or unable to do so.

Occasionally, a grandmother competes for a child's affection or interferes with a mother's training or disciplinary methods. In such instances, resentment may arise between grandparents and parents, jealousy and friction usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situation. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law) wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she takes her children along if the situation permits.

otherwise, she leaves them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Although a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can easily do for themselves.

Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for the mother which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization of obligation rather than from any demand for respect. While a mother expects obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment infrequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nagging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped, at least for the time being.

Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently assume the role of mother to one or more

children not their own but usually rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first ten or eleven years. The attitude between aunt and nephew, closely observed when the boy was fourteen, was one of deep mutual affection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This same woman has cared for a succession of other neices and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household,

but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

V. OLD AGE

The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Instead of having a family about them, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent,

and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food.

A feeble woman of eighty-six years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing and showed no evidence of having done so.

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5.00 worth of piki bread of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth.

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag and with the bag over her shoulder, was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would fumble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would pick up a stick to guide her by rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms.

All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she spent most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her kindly and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly sixty, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old

like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of eighty-eight years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this woman appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her cheeks were smooth with only a few wrinkles at the corners of her mouth and eyes so that she looked much younger than her age. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. Although she used a cane, she walked about easily.

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently

and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However, the old woman seldom evoked this response for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequence and perspective.

Old women generally are respected and treated kindly although their infirmities may evoke the kind of impatience sometimes shown when a child lacks understanding. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill and had won races in which she was the only woman rider.

VI. DEATH

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1903, pp. 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, pp. 267-9, 292-3) for the period about twenty years later. The data they reported, together with that observed by the present investigator, provide a rather detailed account of abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and of establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from Anglo-American contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and the investigator parti-

cipated in such an all-night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper.

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. In one example, a man held a memorial dance (a repetition of the one done at death) for his son about a year after the death had occurred. This is the only such instance of a memorial service at a later date known to the investigator.

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors some-

times dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the deceased away, thus saving the dreamer from death.

There is no great difference in the death customs for women and men except that the latter are likely to be honored by dancing and singing on more nights and may have more property, such as horses, destroyed for them. This apparently is a natural sequence to the fact that men generally acquire greater prestige than do women, and men are likely to own more property.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

I. DIVISION OF LABOR

Economic activities were not in primitive times, as sharply sex limited among the Havasupai as among some primitive groups. It is questionable whether more than two or three kinds of work were strictly limited to one sex or the other. Masculine occupations included hunting, skin dressing, and manufacture of clothing, weapons, and tools. Women gathered wild plant foods, cooked, prepared food for storage, manufactured baskets, pottery, and a few miscellaneous articles, and took care of the children.

Although agriculture was primarily a man's responsibility, all members of the family assisted at every stage. Spier (1928, pp. 102-4) also made this observation. House-building was another task commonly undertaken by cooperative efforts of both sexes, the heavier work being done by men. Trade was carried on by both sexes, although it was primarily the domain of the men.

Men did not weave baskets or make pottery, but members of both sexes occasionally engaged in all other occupations listed. Men were the hunters, but an entire family might help in locating game and driving it toward the hunter. A father sometimes trained his daughter to hunt if he had no son or if she showed inclination or skill in this direction. However, a girl so trained did not hunt independently and,

on reaching adult status, she might continue to hunt with her husband, but the ordinarily feminine tasks took precedence as her primary responsibility.

Spier (1928, p. 140) notes that tanning buckskin "is strictly a sex-limited industry, the handling of the skin from flaying the carcass to the finished moccasin or woman's dress is man's work alone." On the other hand, James (1903, p. 231) reports, "Men and women both dress the buckskins for which the Havasupai is so famous." Since hunting laws restrict the number of hides obtainable, only a few men were observed tanning hides. The casualness with which most tasks are undertaken and the delight of sharing work suggest that women may well have assisted in the tanning process and perhaps in clothing manufacture, but it is unlikely that women ever undertook the tanning operation independently. Today, when a man brings a hide to the sweatlodge to rub and stretch it while he gossips, two or three friends may join in this operation, and it is likely that his womenfolk may have assisted in the same way in former times when hides were tanned in plentiful supply for trade that would benefit the whole family.

Thus, tanning would have been considered man's work despite assistance now and then from a woman. Facts which support this thesis are that women would have had no hides to tan except those given to them by men and that it remained a male responsibility to furnish clothing for children left with a widowed or divorced mother, the grandfathers assuming

this task upon the father's death or the father often continuing it himself in case of divorce.

Clothing manufacture was men's work, and a man cut and stitched for himself and all his dependents. However, as might be expected, Anglo-American influences brought a reversal of sex roles in this occupation. (Availability of woven materials and of ready-made clothing brought a change of style also.) Cotton dresses at first were stitched by hand, but today a few women use treadle sewing machines. All men's clothing and much of that worn by women is purchased ready-to-wear.

Puberty dresses continued to be made by men as long as they were in vogue, and a few of the older men still know how to make them. The only article of apparel fashioned by women in former days were woven basketry hats for men. These were worn so infrequently that their use may have been a comparatively recent trait, perhaps acquired from the Paiute.

The art of chipping stone points has been in disuse for so long that several informants denied that the Havasupai ever made them. One old man explained that old men in his earlier days had told him that points for arrows and spears came down to the earth on lightning, fell on trees, and slid to the ground unbroken for Havasupai use. Another man said that the Havasupai obtained stone points by picking up those shot at them by Apaches.

At the present time, points of fine workmanship and a variety of types and sizes may be picked up in the canyon,

but younger informants urged the investigator not to permit the older people to know she had collected any. As one woman phrased it, "They belonged to people in the old days who are dead, and it might bring a ghost around if you handle them." The same request was made concerning potsherds which abound in a profusion of types. However, an archaeologist was able to obtain permission to excavate in the canyon a couple of years later.

Women, exclusively, plaited sleeping mats, while both men and women braided yucca or tanned hide rope. It is likely that both sexes had a hand in preparation of materials and fabrication of the rubbed cedarbark slow match and of braided cotton cord which formed part of the strike-a-light. Springs and mattresses, hemp or nylon rope, and matches have replaced these articles, although young boys and men occasionally braid quirts. Women commonly made rabbit skin blankets, now no longer used, but they were sometimes assisted by old men. Cradleboards, still used for every baby, are woven by women who also prepare the materials, but a woman may send her husband to gather willows.

Among those tasks commonly allotted to women, child care and cooking were the two which occupied most of her waking hours. While child care was primarily a feminine responsibility, men shared or assisted in it when they were at home as previously described. Cooking, on the other hand, usually was not a regular occupation of a man even on a part-time basis except for those men who lived alone or had no

man in the household. However, if an old couple lived apart
d the man was the more robust of the two, he cooked or as-
sted with it. Whenever the wife was absent or indisposed
r a brief interval, it was not beneath her husband's dignity
cook, although he might choose to eat with a relative if
s dependents were not too numerous.

Women gathered wild plant foods within a short radius
camp, but trips of longer duration or greater distance were
ually undertaken in company with their husbands who shared
the work. Gathering the pinon harvest was a family pro-
ct in which everyone worked and groups of families camped
ose together making it a gala outing lasting two or three
eks. Each family moved from place to place until they
dged their harvest adequate for their needs.

After the harvest of pinons and other wild plants in
ich men helped, it was women's work to roast, husk, grind,
d otherwise prepare the food for immediate use or storage.
kewise, women prepared for storage all foods harvested from
e fields. This is discussed further below.

Pottery was made by women, but its use was abandoned
long ago that the oldest living tribal members probably
w its manufacture only in early childhood if at all, and
ly a scant description could be obtained from informants.
cation of clay deposits is still common knowledge, however,
d one man pulled a sample of powder-smooth texture and al-
st white color from under the eaves of his house where it
d been used for chinking. Clay deposits still exist in

Havasu Canyon, notably near Navaho Falls and near the mouth of Ash Canyon, a tributary. Other clay deposits used are located on the plateau near Pine Spring and elsewhere. Clay was excavated either by women or men.

Basket weaving was exclusively woman's province, but basketry materials were sometimes gathered by men.

The Supai did no beadwork or embroidery in early days. Twenty or thirty years ago several girls learned to do beadwork while in school at Fort Mohave, but few if any of them have used the technique in recent years.

Construction of houses and brush shelters used in summer is a family affair, and occasionally most of the community will join in building a house for someone who needs help. The heavier work is done by men while women generally do the thatching. However, with house design and materials changing under Anglo-American influence, housebuilding has become a masculine task.

Barter was popular among both sexes, both within and outside the tribe, each individual trading the fruits of his own labors. Women usually traded baskets while men traded principally tanned or raw hides. Both might trade dried and seed corn, pinon nuts, mescal, and other wild plant foods. Men sometimes traded buckskin clothing, powdered ocher, or tools of their own workmanship. Havasupai trading parties consisted of family units or all-male groups; women of course did not go off alone to trade. The Havasupai also obtained articles from one neighboring tribe to be used as trade items

with another neighbor. Spier (1928, p. 244) reports that, "An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon." Buckskin was the Havasupai article most in demand among other tribes.

II. EMPLOYMENT

Service ascribes a postulated increase in male prominence and a corresponding decrease in importance of woman's economic role, in part, to a change from male hunting and female gathering to a subsistence based mainly upon male agricultural activities, and, further, to "white influence" which, he writes, "is undoubtedly effective in promoting male predominance" (1947, p. 361).

This hypothesis appears subject to modification today. First, a survey of women employed permanently or seasonally either on or off the reservation reveals that several maintain themselves while many others contribute to the support of their parents, husbands, or children. Women remain active in gardening activities as they have always been, but some of the heavier work is reduced for both sexes by use of the tribally owned tractor operated on individual plots by an individual appointed by the tribal council.

Secondly, it is difficult to imagine that the Anglo-

merican cultural group, which socially, politically, and conomically accords women almost unprecedented status, ights, and privileges can be responsible for promoting pre-ominance of the Havasupai male or for minimizing the economic mportance which the woman had under aboriginal conditions.

Women have not been idle at any stage of economic daptation which the tribe has undergone beginning with Anglo-merican depletion of natural resources formerly available to hem. When wild foods became scarce, women began to weave askets for sale to tourists at Grand Canyon. Tourist demand or basketry exceeded that of neighboring tribes with whom the avasupai had traded. In more recent years, basket weaving as decreased in popularity among women, because it is tedi-us work and compensation is inadequate for time and effort xpended.

A younger generation of women has discovered a source f income, larger and more easily acquired than that from asket weaving, in employment at Grand Canyon and elsewhere. early all young girls now spend some time prior to marriage orking at Grand Canyon. Usually, they do maid service or itchen work for the tourist establishment or housework for resident Anglo-American family in the Grand Canyon community.

On the reservation, a young woman is postmistress, nd the Indian Service, until the day school was discontinued n 1945-46, employed a woman as school housekeeper-cook, otating this job among applicants from year to year to istribute the income among families. Other women are

permanently employed off the reservation.

In the younger generation, one girl who graduated from high school in 1951 applied for nursing school but was refused because of her health. Subsequently, she worked a year in a Phoenix hospital, was a housemaid in Los Angeles, and at present is a matron at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California. She is an exception rather than the rule, showing more initiative than most other girls or boys of the same age. Significantly, her mother is, perhaps, the best educated, most progressive, and most ambitious woman of her own generation.

A majority of both boys and girls in recent years have failed to complete high school and many have left school at the eighth or ninth grade level or earlier, thus limiting themselves in the kind of employment they can obtain and restricting themselves to the lower income brackets in comparison with better educated or job-trained Anglo-American youths of comparable age. On the whole, Havasupai girls tend to remain in school longer than do the boys.

III. PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND INHERITANCE

In aboriginal times, Havasupai women had clear right of ownership to personal items such as clothing and tools used for basket weaving or other work, articles of their own manufacture such as baskets, and money or other goods acquired in selling or trading items belonging to them. In addition, feminine property included baskets, pottery, and

ther articles used by women in housekeeping, food gathering and so on.

In former times an individual's personal property, including clothing, tools, weapons, and other small articles, was burned at his death; today, it is burned or interred in the grave. In aboriginal days a woman seldom owned anything that was not destroyed or discarded at her death. In primitive groups most personal property is useful only to members of the original owner's same sex; among the Havasupai, therefore, women inherited nothing.

Land, trees, and horses were owned and inherited by men. Land was inherited by a man's sons and grandsons, or it reverted to males in his consanguine family, usually his brothers or nephews.

Today, a certain amount of feminine resentment exists against male priority in land inheritance. This resentment appears strongest among women without brothers who saw land pass from their fathers to male relatives and among widows who failed to inherit land from their husbands. Havasupai women observe that, among their Anglo-American neighbors, women inherit and own property including land, an example which encourages them in their desire for rights of ownership and inheritance equal with men. Since many of the younger women have achieved some measure of economic independence, it is unlikely that this experience will lead to their submissive acceptance of an increase in emphasis upon male precedence in ownership and inheritance rights.

In regard to land ownership under aboriginal conditions Spier (1928, p. 231) writes:

> Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization, title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support.

In the present population at least ten women own one or more plots of land each. The number of feminine land owners is uncertain, because five of the women have sisters unmarried, living off the reservation, or living on the reservation but married to men who themselves own land. Under questioning several of these women asserted that their land, or the use of it, would be redistributed should the need arise among their sisters under circumstances of marriage, change of residence, or widowhood. It appears that the present owners have the use of their lands but that they hold such lands in trust for a group of related persons of whom they are one. The number of feminine land owners, therefore, is subject to change on the basis of heirship not yet settled.

Among the ten feminine land owners, six women inherited land from their fathers while four inherited from their husbands. With one exception in father-to-daughter inheritance, there were no sons; in the exception, the son himself inherited part of his father's land. The latter case is a good example of the role residence plays in land inheritance: Richard Siyuja died in 1946 leaving four adult children. His only son resides off the reservation, but several plots of land are

considered his. Among the girls, only one seems permanently settled on the reservation, and the remainder of Richard's land is regarded as hers. However, she explained that if her sisters should move to Supai, she and her brother would give them some land or let them use it if they needed it. She made little or no distinction between ownership and use, apparently viewing it with small concern. She said her brother and all three sisters might farm their land together, dividing the harvest according to their individual needs. (This case lends support to Spier's emphasis upon land use as a factor in ownership.)

In only one of the six above cases was there a surviving brother of the deceased, and he has been a long-time resident on a neighboring reservation. However, there were other male relatives as closely related to the deceased as are some men who have inherited land. Also, three of the six women who inherited land are absentee land owners, two living perhaps temporarily at Grand Canyon and a third living permanently on another reservation.

Among the four widows who inherited from their husbands, three had dependent children while the fourth was childless. One widow with children remarried without losing her land although her deceased husband had three surviving brothers. Some of her land has been divided among her sons as they have attained maturity, but she retains one plot for her own house and garden. The remaining three widows did not remarry.

When the widow who remarried was again widowed after bearing a daughter by her second husband, she and her eldest step-daughter bitterly contested ownership of three plots owned by the deceased. The tribal council decided in favor of the step-daughter, reserving no land for two other step-daughters or the widow's own daughter. The deciding factor here seems to have been need of the land.

Several of the women use all or part of their land themselves, others permit relatives to use it, sometimes on a share basis. A few plots of poor land remain unused. One of these women, in addition to her own land, farms a plot belonging to her absentee brother.

In another instance, a widow with dependent children inherited no land. Instead, it fell to her only adult son who now farms it. Expectation is that this son will divide the land with his brothers as they mature and need it. Because the inheriting son is unmarried and lives with his mother, she, in effect, has the use of the land in cooperation with her son for the sustenance of herself and her children.

A former feminine land owner who died childless left her land, inherited from her husband, to her brother who is now too feeble to work. The land has now descended to the use of her brother's son, although part of it is sometimes used by a man whose relationship to her, if any, is distant.

Three former residents of a small side canyon, a brother and sister and a man not closely related to them if at all, consider themselves joint owners of this small recess.

The attitude of women toward their general exclusion as inheritors of land several times came to light during interviews. One woman, indicating a piece of property where the house of her paternal cross-cousin stands, remarked, "That land is really mine. My father gave it to me when he died but _____ took it away from me." (This woman's father also owned one of the newer houses which was not destroyed at his death and which is now used by another of her male cross-cousins. This woman related that her father's house also belonged to her, but her cousin had taken possession of it. They quarreled when she asked for the house, and her cousin told her she could not have it unless she would saw it in two and take half. "But I didn't want that," she said. "We didn't speak for more than a year after that quarrel." She also claimed a horse which she did not receive, her male cousins inheriting all of her father's herd. Both the woman in question and her male cousins who took all of her father's property are aggressive individuals. The woman's husband is of mild temperament; had he been otherwise, settlement in this case might have been different.)

In another instance, a widow who inherited land from her husband for the use of her minor children and herself, also claimed another plot that had belonged to him. However, the land was taken from her by the same man who claimed the house in the above case. This man was only remotely related to the deceased, if at all. The land was adjacent to, or near, his, and it appears that he was able to take possession

mainly because there were no men in the widow's family who would take issue with him over it. The widow stated that the usurper slapped her and knocked her to the ground in a quarrel over it, but this has not been verified from other sources. (The widow in question has a marked tendency to fancy that others are persecuting her.)

In summary, although land inheritance formerly was patrilineal, a small percentage of inheritors in recent years have been women, acquiring land from either consanguine or affinal relatives. Women seem increasingly interested in owning land in their own right, and several of them have acted aggressively to this end.

Ownership privileges of Anglo-American women set an example which Havasupai women appear to envy. In addition, modifications in Havasupai political and social structure with consequent economic adaptations point away from any increased emphasis upon patrilineal inheritance, and therefore, toward increased emphasis upon property ownership and land inheritance rights for women.

IV. ARTS AND CRAFTS

Basket weaving is almost the sole outlet for creative artistic talent among the women. Interest in it has so fallen off that, in 1950, only half a dozen women were actively occupied in making baskets despite the fact that their supply never equals tourist demand. It was said that the work of a few other women who had tried basket weaving at one time or

another was too inferior in quality for sale. Most of the older women are able to make twined baskets for their own use, but they seldom do. Apparently no one has twined a burden basket for some years, and only three examples of this type were observed about the village. The only other basket type seen in use was a broad shallow tray convenient for winnowing seeds; parching corn, pinon nuts, or seeds; and for drying peaches, figs, or other fruit.

Spier (1928, pp. 126-7) identifies two coiled baskets, one a flattened globular form used for stone boiling and the other a tray used for winnowing or parching. An informant at the present time reports that a shallow bowl from which a family took its meals was also made by coiling. Presumably, all other basketry forms were produced by the twining technique.

Today the few utilitarian baskets woven are twined while those made for sale to tourists are nearly all coiled.

Although women traditionally traded baskets to the Hopi, Navaho, and Paiute, demand lessened as metal containers became available. Basket weaving for home use declined, although the Havasupai continued to make certain types, including burden baskets and trays, which were not duplicated in metal form.

The advent of tourists to Grand Canyon National Park stimulated basket manufacture, but emphasis gradually changed from utility baskets in twined stitch to coiled ornamental basketry in a variety of new shapes and sizes. Coiling was

the weave preferred by tourists.

Formerly, emphasis was upon utility rather than upon artistic effect or originality of decoration. Baskets were sturdy and durable. Weavers in general kept to basic styles, although the variety of shape in water bottles suggests some inventiveness beyond requirements of utility. Spier (1928, p. 124) reports four strikingly different shapes of water bottles.

Decoration was kept to a minimum, almost always consisting of one, two, or three lines with solid triangles aligned against them or rows of short parallel lines angling with the direction of weave. On one burden basket in use in 1950, ornamentation consisted of an encircling black line omitted on that portion of the basket which would lie against the bearer's back. Spier (1928, p. 137) notes that this was common practice. However, in coiled basketry for the tourist trade, more interest is taken in producing a pleasing decoration. Three weavers are especially skillful in ornamentation all of which is woven into the body of the basket with black strips from the seed pod of the devil's claw, the strips being sized to match the willows used in the remainder of the weaving. Designs usually are composed of small masses or lines of solid black with curved outline. Animal or bird forms are occasionally represented, but simple designs are more common. Ideas for designs are often original with the weaver, or they may have been suggested to her by something she has seen. One weaver imitated a four-leaf clover in a basket, creating a

well balanced and pleasing effect. Another produced a spotty, poorly conceived design by scattering too many small images of birds and animals on the face of a tray. A young woman who decided to attempt to learn the weaving art borrowed a book on Papago basket weaving to copy some of the designs.

Spier (1928, p. 155) notes, "The decorations on coiled baskets and twined burden baskets and trays of the Paviotso, Moapa, Yavapai, and Walapai bear definite resemblances to those of the Havasupai."

Spier (1928, pp. 128-38) gives a detailed description of techniques used in twining and coiling. Both processes also were observed and photographed by this investigator. Techniques used remain as Spier described them.

For twined baskets, twigs for the warp, or ribs, are prepared by merely stripping the leaves and leaving the bark. For weft, twigs are split into three strips starting at the small end by manipulating with the teeth and both hands. The pithy section of each weft strip is scraped off by drawing it at a right angle across the blade of a knife held parallel to the extended index finger. The bark is left on, and if a completed basket is examined closely, it may be seen that, in drying, the bark separates from the woody part of the strip giving the finished basket the effect of being woven with double weft strips. Weft strips are woven with the woody surface of each strip turned to the interior of trays and to the exterior of burden baskets so that the side most often seen on the finished product is the light golden color of the wood

while the reverse side is the darker brown or tan of the bark. The weaver works with the woody surface of the weft strips or the "right" side of the basket toward her; hence, she weaves a tray holding the interior surface toward her but turns a burden basket upside down with its exterior surface toward her.

> To start weaving, two pairs of long twigs are held so that they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound twice across the junction and the ends then woven alternately over and under the ribs.... The direction of weaving is clockwise with the face or inside of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around these four ribs, another rib is inserted, being caught into the twine stitch....The mashed end of this short twig is first softened still further in the mouth, permitting it to be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt end protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. New warps are successively inserted in this manner, care being taken to keep them regularly spaced. The wefts are constantly wetted so that they will remain pliable. Most baskets begin with diagonal twining,...the weft crossing two warps at a time. A few begin with simple twining,... weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave....In all cases the warps are inserted one at a time. While weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly. The butt of the new strip is inserted between the old weft and the rib, and is caught tight by the next stitch formed by the opposite element....
>
> To finish the edge of the water bottle, burden basket or tray, the ends of the warps protruding beyond the woven fabric are first thinned by splitting, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a coil stitch running around the rim.... (Spier, 1928, pp. 129-32).

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each

strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver had a series of five or six holes used for sizing strips for miniature baskets two or three inches in diameter up to trays a foot or more across.

> All coiled baskets are sewed on a three-rod foundation; all three rods being of the same size. The ends of three peeled and scraped cottonwood twigs are mashed and tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is passed under one rod....close to the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the center of the knot....The succeeding stitches of the first coil are also sewed into the knot. The rods are now arranged so that two lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is intended to pass under the third rod, but in most specimens it pierces this rod which the awl splits; it is said that this does not matter. Stitches are spaced to pass between those of the previous coil; not to split them. Stitching is usually fairly regular, but not fine. After two coils are in place the mashed ends of the rods which protrude at the center are trimmed off. Stitching is always from right to left; the left hand holding the free ends of the rods in place while the right manipulates the awl. The sewing strand is brought over the rod toward the sewer and through the coil away from her. The coiled tray, like the twined variety, is held with the finished interior face toward the sewer; stitching proceeding on the far edge. In bowls the finished face is the outside of base and wall: stitching proceeds on the far side of the base, held bottom up, and on the near side of the wall while the bowl is held right side up. That is, viewed from the top or inside, the trays are coiled anticlockwise and the bowls clockwise, but the direction of sewing is in both cases exactly the same....
>
> The black decorative figures in coiled and twined wares are made with the black outer layer of the seed pod of the martynia or devil's claw....Two strips of the black coat are split off with the teeth, beginning at the tip; the remaining interior third is discarded. To reduce the strips to a uniform width, they are held between teeth and hand while a knife is scraped along their edges....
>
> The rim of the coiled basket is finished by cutting off the three rods successively so that the coil will

> taper to an end. The rim is usually left without any further finish, but in a few specimens borders in other styles are added. The simplest consists of a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands....Apparently the binding is from left to right, working from the outside of the basket; that is, contrary to the direction in which the coils were sewn. The binder stitch pierces the top coil between two stitches, returns toward the worker over the rim, and is inserted again between the second and third coil stitch beyond, thus alternating with the other binder strand. A second type of border is identical except that three strands are used....A third type presents a braided appearance.... (Spier, 1928, pp. 133-6).

Whiting (1952, p. 64) identifies the materials used in basket weaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred, cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior; for rims service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are used; and for decoration squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, p. 128) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and (1928, p. 133) notes that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier with devil's claw the most popular decorative element.

Women also wove sleeping mats and men's hats, as previously noted. The cradleboard is an important example of women's handicraft. It is described in Chapter II of this paper.

V. FOOD COMPLEX

Cooking and storage methods together with degree of utilization of the available food supply furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture.

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but never monotonous. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, broiling, and frying, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling.

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as corn, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, p. 60).

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs.

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, mutton grass, wormwood,

ansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia Wrightii, aqlisa (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1952, pp. 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced.

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under primitive conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased hand powered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit.

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi') with her legs turned sideways beneath her and leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djʌ'). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry

corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor.

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients varied from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold.

Dumplings were made from dry corn cooked to a thick paste or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

Corn was also boiled or roasted in whole ears and eaten at once or the husks pulled back to permit drying for storage.

Squash was cooked, fresh or dried, in boiling water and usually wasn't combined with other foods. For storage the squash rind was hacked off, and the meat was cut spirally in a long strip which was folded up loosely and tied to the house rafters or outside to dry. For use, dried strips were broken in chunks and boiled in salted water.

Beans were prepared much the same as dried corn, either ground into flour and boiled as soup or mush, mixed with other ingredients, or boiled whole.

Flour cakes were sometimes fried on heated rocks, but frying was infrequently used.

In a lengthy process, mescal was roasted in an earth pit with heated rocks and hot coals. Bread made from corn meal or the flour of wild seeds was also baked in a pit oven similar to, but smaller than, that used for roasting mescal. The Havasupai formerly had no other form of oven, but today many families have wood-burning stoves.

Another method of baking which Whiting (1952, p. 111) traces to Hopi contact, was the use of a flat, smooth stone supported over a small fire by several other stones turned on edge. The flat stone surface was greased with pumpkin seeds or suet, and a thin flour batter made from parched blue or white corn was spread over it. The bread cooked quickly, curling around the edges. It was peeled from the stone in sheets while still pliable and rolled up for storage. Whiting called this bread pika from Hopi piki, but this investigator recorded dɪs' -vȧ' ĺ- -ädt. Only a few of the older women know how to make this bread.

The most popular bread eaten today is the tortilla made from wheat flour, salt, and water, usually with baking powder added. It is baked on a wire rack over an open fire reduced to coals, although in cold weather it may be cooked on an inside stove with or without grease. Tortillas are the mainstay of daily fare, usually being baked fresh every meal. Small pieces torn from them are often used in lieu of a spoon to scoop softer food to the mouth.

Corn bread made from green or dried corn and baked in a wood-burning stove or wrapped in husks and baked in an earth pit continues in popularity. Sometimes wheat flour is added to it.

Various butters were made from pinon nut meats, parched sunflower, watermelon, or pumpkin seeds, or seeds of certain wild plants. These are compared to peanut butter in consistency, but each seed had an individual flavor. Parching was accomplished by putting hot coals in a tray with unshelled pinon nuts, corn, or seeds and shaking vigorously to prevent burning. Pinon nuts were shelled on a metate and tossed in a winnowing tray while the shells were blown away. Pinon nut butter was sometimes mixed with roasted dried cornmeal to make a thicker paste. Young people compare pinon nut butter unfavorably with peanut butter, because it was drier and always had tiny shell fragments in it.

Drinks were prepared from peaches and other fruits which were cooked until pulpy, thinned with water, and sweetened after sugar was available. A refreshing drink was made from mesquite beans pounded gently on the metate to break the pulp membranes but not the seeds. The mashed beans were soaked but not cooked, and the pulpy substance squeezed out before use.

Meat was boiled fresh or dried, roasted in a pit, or broiled over an open fire. Roasting in a pit was the favorite method for most game because natural juices and more flavor were retained. Certain small animals such as rabbit were

boiled, the water sometimes being thickened with corn or bean flour.

Fruits were eaten in season fresh or occasionally stewed. For storage, berries were dried whole, and larger fruits, to speed the drying process, were split open and pitted. Figs and the pulpy fruits of prickly pear, mesquite, and roasted mescal were mashed on the metate and kneaded into flat cakes for drying. One woman observed preparing to dry what she called fig bars, rolled the pulp into figure eights, then flattened them gently to close the holes.

Foods are left outside until cold weather, then stored inside the houses. The storage cists on the talus slope up and down the canyon are no longer used, but a few families continue to use the shelf of the talus slope in favorable locations for drying fruit.

Several younger women today process a small amount of fruit in jars.

CHAPTER VII

LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

I. TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

Under the former system of tribal leadership by chiefs, women were never chiefs. Spier states this emphatically, and this investigator has found no evidence to the contrary.

Spier describes chieftainship as follows:

> Chieftainship is emphatically not a position; it is the embodiment of certain somewhat vague functions.... Chieftainship is defined only by its functions, which consist largely of giving advice and admonitions. This is so largely true that it might be said not that a chief is one who talks, but that one who talks is a chief. Chiefs tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women....Chiefs address their remarks to the assemblages on appropriate occasions....such as dances, formal gatherings for the discussion of important topics, invitations, etc., during battle, at death ceremonies, or informally at the sweatlodges....
>
> Men become chiefs by prestige and renown based on their prowess in war, their prominence in intertribal relations, and their wisdom displayed in council, or by reason of inheritance. Personal qualifications are an important factor in the latter case too. A chief must be dignified, industrious, and even tempered; a son who does not display these qualities will have little chance of ever being called chief...(1928, pp. 235-6).

Today, although the rule of inheritance by primogeniture is stated in the tribal constitution, competition exists among men with leadership abilities or ambitions, and not entirely without reason. A chief who died without sons would be succeeded by one of his closest male relatives, thus possibly opening the door to several contenders almost equally close in relationship. Public opinion would then have to unite upon the one who seemed most qualified.

Mindful of Spier's above description, an observer among the Havasupai today finds that a number of men who are not chiefs apparently aspire to leadership formerly embodied in the role of chieftainship. Notable among these are three shamans.

One shaman in particular is a leader; his advice is sought and given on matters not pertaining to health or medicine; he, at present, serves as formally appointed regent for the young head chief which means in effect that he acts as chief; the head chief resides with this shaman and thus is in close daily association with him and is being trained to leadership by him; this shaman several years ago was an unsuccessful contender for inheritance of a minor chieftainship which he still considers rightfully his; he makes public speeches giving advice; and with all this, he is a man of outstanding dignity, reserve, wisdom, and kindliness.

The two other shamans act the role of chief in public speaking but lack the popularity and most other qualities of the shaman described above. One of the latter two talks so often and at such length that the people grow impatient with him and privately show disrespect or resentment. One man remarked, "He is always telling us what to do but no one pays attention to him. He's all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

Several other persons including at least one woman occasionally deliver public addresses expressing their opinions upon tribal affairs or remonstrating with the young people to

behave properly.

A question arises as to how significant public speaking may have been in the making of a chief under aboriginal conditions. Spier implies that talking was such an important aspect of chieftainship that almost anyone who talked was recognized as a chief. However, a leader cannot lead if people disregard his advice or take him lightly. It is unlikely that either of the latter two shamans will ever discontinue public speaking, and it is almost as improbable that either of them would have won chieftainship under former conditions. Since their speeches include political and other topics, it cannot be argued that they are speaking only as shamans.

More likely, public speaking is a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator assumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of

becoming chiefs. Only one woman does so at the present time so far as could be discovered. She is an individual of strong personality and aggressiveness who has been the unpopular litigant in a land dispute lasting some years and has also been involved in friction within her own family. Moreover, as a young woman, she is said to have been "wild with men", and as a widow she is credited with having stolen another woman's husband. A person of graceful, dignified bearing and considerable charm, she is friendly with strangers whereas most other Havasupai women are too shy to speak. She once falsely asserted to the investigator that she had served on the tribal council. Other women generally opined that "no one" likes the woman in question. It would appear that she has earned an unpopular place in the social group as well as with certain members of her kinship group.

Under such circumstances, it is understandable that she desires recognition or wishes to reassert herself in the group. It may be that her former popularity with men made her less timid of them and taught her self assurance so that she now hesitates little to pursue a masculine course to gain recognition. That she gains no acclaim and certainly stands little chance of exerting influence may not matter at all; perhaps she finds reward in mere self expression.

Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are

also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief.

"She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

Under the present tribal government by council, women have never been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

II. SHAMANISM

Spier (1928, p. 277) reports that only men become shamans. Informants today agree with Spier.

A Havasupai shaman explained that Walapai women can be shamans, but that he himself feels uncertain whether they are "real," that is, whether they have genuine curing power and possess spirit familiars to assist them.

At present, an old woman of Havasupai birth and rearing who married a Walapai in her youth has long been a practicing shaman on the Walapai reservation. About her the Havasupai shaman quoted above explained, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (his curing power) from him." The woman shaman is a relative of this Havasupai shaman, and this may be a factor in the more respectful attitude he seems to have toward her than toward Walapai women shamans.

This woman did not become a shaman until some years after marriage, apparently during middle age. Unfortunately, the investigator has not yet interviewed this woman or made inquiries among the Walapai regarding her acceptance by them. However, Havasupai informants report that she is a popular practitioner with the Walapai and that Havasupai also sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing concerning her personality was recorded beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

III. PUBLIC CEREMONIES AND ACTIVITIES

Funerals. Women formerly took no part in crematory rites other than wailing as mourners and, perhaps, dressing the corpse. Mourners were not hired; such wailing was an expression of genuine sorrow as it is today.

In the all night funeral ceremony held today, women are active with men as singers and dancers although leadership rests with the men. In the dance borrowed from the Paiute, a line of women faces the men's line, and the two lines dance backward and forward about ten paces throughout the night with pauses only between the dance songs. Women may also sing with the two other groups of singers who perform simultaneously with the dancers, but ordinarily they do not. One woman who sometimes does so is the Walapai wife of a Havasupai shaman. It is said that she is asked to sing because she knows all the songs.

Divorce statement. In earlier days it was customary for both husband and wife in a divorce to state their respective cases publicly. Apparently, this procedure served as a public announcement of status change for the divorcing parties. At the same time, and probably the most immediate reason for the custom, it afforded both husband and wife an opportunity to state or answer charges in an attempt to win popular sympathy or support. In this, a woman had an equal right with a man to present her case.

The custom is seldom practiced today, but the observer was present in 1951 when a divorce was announced in this

fashion by both husband and wife as described in Chapter III.

Gambling. Gambling is a daily diversion on the Havasupai reservation. Each afternoon in good weather men and women gather in an uncultivated plot of land beside the main trail in Supai which is popularly referred to as "the gambling place." Officially, Indian Service personnel frown upon this custom, and there have been attempts to stop it altogether. In the words of one informant:

> If we don't gamble, we got no fun down here. We always gamble. Once about 1933-36 agent try to make us stop, but people tell him we got no other fun. It's good for us. We always do like that. People don't quit and pretty soon agent he don't say no more about it. Here it goes around pretty even. Nobody wins or loses all time and if somebody lose too much he don't quit gambling, just come back next day, play some more, and win again maybe. We keep track and every time he wins, it goes on debt till all paid up. Then he's clear again.

Under aboriginal conditions, gambling was not a daily practice but was popular whenever two or three families were camping together and also during the months when many of the families were living in Havasu Canyon to attend their fields. Men gambled for buckskin, clothing, blankets, and food. Women's stakes were usually smaller objects such as beads or other articles of adornment. Men had a few games from which women were excluded, but they joined women in playing a kind of dice game which Spier (1928, p. 341) described. Informants say that children did not gamble with the exception of one game played by young boys. They shot arrows at a bundle of rags or willow bark thrown into the air, wagering their skill against their arrows.

Today, the dice game has been taken over by young people, and the group playing it may include boys and girls of eight or ten years as well as young married or single men and women in their twenties or thirties with the majority of the players being teen-agers. Each player bets a dime on each game, the winner taking the kitty and paying from it ten cents to the owner of the dice.

Men continue to play a hidden ball game using a yucca root ball and following the rules observed by Spier (1928, p. 342) thirty-five years ago. The game is played infrequently, however. Small boys occasionally play this game also, and girls were seen practicing it, but adult women never play and apparently take little interest in watching it.

Women today play cards with a standard deck of playing cards. A number of women are almost daily players while others join in only occasionally and some women never play. Men also play cards with the women. During the summer of 1950 there were almost always two groups playing cards, but in 1951 for some undiscovered reason, players had dwindled in number so that only one group played most of the time. The card-playing groups are almost invariably composed of both sexes with the majority of players being women. The number of spectators of both sexes is usually two or three times the number of players, but these do not necessarily devote all their time or attention to the games in progress. Young boys race their horses nearby or practice calf-roping and tying if calves are available. Young people of both sexes do a

great deal of visiting and joking with one another or merely sit and watch what everyone else is doing.

In good weather, gambling is done at the public gambling place, but someone takes it upon himself to furnish cards and more or less act as host for the game. In 1951, this person was an elderly blind man who, about one-thirty or two p.m., would arrive at the gambling place with a mountain sheep's horn upon which he blew a long, high note signaling the players to "get ready." People started arriving about two hours later, and the games seldom started until a crowd had assembled. The blind man exchanged poker chips for money, and it was said that he received four or five dollars each day as his profit.

During the winter months, card games are held in the house of a woman who seldom plays during the summer. Her house is larger than most, thus accomodating quite a number of players. In this instance, it is the woman and not her husband who arranges the games, owns the cards, and receives the profit.

Anyone, male or female, is at liberty to invite players to his home and regularly "operate" card games if he or she can attract interested persons. Apparently, there is little competition for this position. Players seem to have a tacit agreement to patronize a particular person who makes it known that he wishes to act as gambling host.

Dancing. Women participate in all dances now performed by the Havasupai. In former times they were excluded

only from the masked dance described by Spier (1928, pp. 266-7) and today referred to primarily as a rain dance. (One informant stated, "We used to dance like that to bring the rain, but we don't do it any more. The Hopis learned it from us and still do it. They stole it." The fact that the dance presently performed by the Hopi is different in form and concept from that described by the Havasupai and was well established when the Hopi were first observed made no difference to this informant in his assertion.) Men take the initiative in both dancing and singing, while women wait rather shyly to join in.

James (1907, pp. 252-3) about 1900 observed a feminine exhibition of hysteria and unconsciousness while dancing which probably originated among the Havasupai during their brief adoption of the Ghost Dance of 1890 performed by them only the following year, 1891. Spier (1928, p. 266) also states this view of the manifestation's origin although it is described only for men in Mooney's report (1896, pp. 813-4):

> ...a very tall straight pole had been securely fastened upright in the ground. At the top were tied two eagle-tail feathers. A circle was formed around this pole by the Indians, and, after dancing around it until almost dark, one of the men climbed the pole to the top, and remained there until exhausted, when he would slide to the ground, clinging insensible to the pole. After remaining in this state for some time, the medicine-men resuscitated him. On recovery he stood up and told them he had been into another world, where he saw all the old men who had died long ago, and among them his own people. They told him they would all come back in time and bring the deer, the antelope, and all other good things they had when they dwelt on this earth.

James (1907, p. 252-3) observed the autumn circle or

harvest dance of the Havasupai about ten years later. His description of seizures by women at that time follows:

> Very often it occurs that women of the tribe are affected with a somewhat similar excitement to that which seizes the negro when he has "the power." With a shriek, the woman hysterically leaps within the circle made by the dancers, and howls and shouts and dances and jumps, and then, perhaps, throws herself in a heavy stupor upon the ground. Some will run to the centre post, and, hanging on with one or both hands, will swing rapidly around until they fall exhausted to the ground. When the male members tire of seeing these excitable females upon the ground, they unostentatiously step up to the prostrate figures, seize their long thick hair, swing it over the shoulder, and thus proceed to drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to."

Apparently this type of behavior had ceased to occur by the time of Spier's work twenty years later, and nothing of the sort has been reported for the period of the past thirty-five years.

Raiding. Only one instance is reported in which a woman took part in a raiding party. The woman's name in translation was White Hair, and she was the "grandmother" (mother's mother's sister) of Pete Mulgullo, now deceased.

Once when many families were camped near their fields in Havasu Canyon, a party of four or five Havasupai men, including a son of White Hair, went hunting in the vicinity of Topocoba Hilltop. After killing many mountain sheep, they went to sleep in a cave to rest before the long journey home. While they slept, a party of about eight Apaches surprised them, killing all but one of the hunters who outran them among the rocks.

When this man returned to the canyon, he told the

people that the hunting party had killed many sheep but he said nothing about the Apache raid. The people waited for the other hunters to return, and after about ten (?) days, they suspected that Apaches had killed them. (No explanation can be given by present informants regarding this strange silence of the survivor except that "he just didn't want to tell it.")

One man went in search of the hunters and found them all dead. Alone, he heaped their bodies up and burned them. When he returned to the canyon with his report, White Hair, at that time an old woman, became very angry at the Apaches. Arousing some of the men, she set out as leader of a revenge raiding party to track the killers of her son. Mounted on horses, the Havasupai had traveled to the vicinity of Williams when they sighted an Apache, also on horseback, who had returned to retrieve a bow and arrows he had hidden. The Apache raced away, but his pursuers were too close before he saw them. The Havasupai overtook him, and as they were riding along for some distance about ten feet away on both sides of the Apache's horse, one man took a hatchet from his belt and swerved in close enough to land a blow on the Apache's head. The Apache reined his horse, jumped to the ground, and started shooting at the Havasupai, but his bowstring broke. When this happened, he just stood there awaiting the final blow. One of the Havasupai rode close, swinging his hatchet at the man's head, and the Apache fell dead. In anticlimax, informants add that the Apache had been mounted on a stolen Havasupai horse which

followed the avenging party home.

"That old woman was boss of the war party, and she rode right along with the men all the way, even when they killed the Apache," an informant asserted. "She was there when they killed him, but she didn't kill the man herself." It is uncertain whether she actually attempted to or did strike any blows at the quarry. Death of the one Apache satisfied the revenge party, which, in fact, probably realized that they would have sustained injuries or deaths themselves had they overtaken the main Apache party.

Special testimony or advice. In recording testimony regarding former extent of Havasupai hunting territory preparatory to presenting their case in court, the Havasupai have consulted old women along with old men. This probably was done at the instigation of the Anglo-American law firm engaged by the tribe.

Under aboriginal circumstances, it is doubtful whether old women were very frequently consulted on matters concerning the tribe as a group. Most disputes probably were between segments of the tribe or between families. When land disputes arose, it appears that the council of chiefs was consulted if the matter could not be decided otherwise. In this instance, old women would almost never have played a role. On the other hand, if a disagreement were simply argued between families and women happened to be among the senior members on either side, it is quite possible that they would have taken part in the matter whether or not they were consulted.

At the present time, women in middle age or older are consulted on matters of relationship if marriage is the subject. This is especially true if the woman in question is of advanced age or is reputed to have a good memory of such things. Adult women of any age do not hesitate to add their voices to the cry of public disapproval which arises when any couple attempts to make what is considered an improper marriage.

Women play a prominent part in passing on the body of approved social behavior to coming generations, especially in the training of their own sex. However, women in their role as mothers also have a large share in the teaching of boys.

Fighting and quarreling. In the most common form of disagreement between women, a few uncomplimentary words are exchanged. At subsequent meetings the disputants ignore one another until one of them makes some friendly overture or the point of disagreement is settled. During the period of silent reproach or sulking, as the case may be, each of them avoids coming face to face with the other whenever possible.

Behavior of a group of Havasupai girls, ages about sixteen to twenty-five, employed at Grand Canyon and living in the Havasupai Indian Village there, was observed during a period of three weeks. The girls were allied in pairs or groups of three or four as close friends but also spent some time together as a group. Their dominant interest appeared to be in the opposite sex, and they would rush home from work to wash out clothes, press a dress or blouse, pin-curl or comb their own or each other's hair, and otherwise prepare for the

coming evening. If they did not already have dates, they would go, two or three at a time, to the "B. A." (Bright Angel Lodge) where they would congregate in the lobby, outside on the terrace, or nearby to wait for prospective boy friends to join the group or to invite one of the girls to leave it. Oftentimes, a number of younger brothers and sisters would be hanging about, and occasionally, one or two young married men or women would be present for a while. There was usually much joking, giggling, and good natured scuffling. The group changed composition rapidly and sometimes moved from one locale to another several times in the course of an evening. The strategy of each girl seemed to be to place herself in a position of availability.

In the same age bracket there happened to be one girl who was apart from the group described above. Two or three years earlier she had been much pursued by Havasupai men and was considered by them to be the best looking of her age group. After a period of what informants described as considerable sexual experience (or exploitation), she had taken up residence alone in a trailer house parked in the Indian Village where her activities were observed and discussed. She was employed with the other girls, but, in addition, she reportedly was a prostitute.

This girl was ostracized by girls of her own age as a group, although several of them had some casual association with her on an individual basis. It appeared that such contact occurred when girls visited her trailer house in company

with their boy friends or otherwise found themselves in her presence with men being the initiators of such meetings. Of course most of the girls were in daily contact with her at their common place of employment, and there a certain amount of friction reportedly occurred.

The reason given for avoiding the company of this girl was not her prostitution. It was explained, instead, that she caused trouble and said cruel things to them whenever she was present. It is entirely possible that the other girls in reality considered her their rival for masculine attention, and because of her greater popularity, they had banded together against her.

Another more pointed example of united public opinion centering on the unpopularity of a woman is that of a widow in middle age. She seemingly feels that most of her fellow tribesmen are persecuting her. She is commonly viewed by the Havasupai as a trouble maker, and her presence is undesired but is tolerated by most of the tribe. This woman is described as being anti-social from early childhood. Other children treated her with indifference or tolerance, and eventually taunted her for her strange behavior. Today, she considers herself superior to her fellow tribesmen in social conduct. She is given to aggressive verbal behavior which is largely ignored by others until it reaches a point that can no longer be ignored. On fence posts and elsewhere about the canyon village area, obscenities have been written coupling names of various young people. These are credited to her authorship. The

mother of one girl whose name had been seen in numerous places told the investigator without anger or perceptible excitement that "_____ writes all those things, and no one pays any attention to what she writes because we all know she does it." This informant shook her head and added that she could not understand why the woman in question behaved as she did.

This widow's behavior is tolerated among her fellow tribesmen seemingly without animosity, although she appears to have no close friends. On the whole, other women appear to treat this widow kindly and do not take advantage of her. However, she is occasionally baited or teased by the young men. People generally avoid conflict with her whenever possible.

There are in the tribe perhaps two or three other women who have few friends, who are considered difficult to get along with, or who bear strong antagonisms toward a few individuals. Other women, as a rule, avoid trouble with such a person by associating with her as little as possible. Even women of this reputation, however, have their own circles of relatives or close friends with whom they do maintain pleasant social relations.

Although antagonisms which have arisen over land disputes or other issues of a serious nature, in a few instances continue to be borne by the disputants, as a general rule grudges are not lasting. Most quarrels are quickly forgotten and injuries are forgiven.

Quarrels of a serious character between women usually

concern rivalry for the affections of a particular man. A second source of trouble is gambling, such conflict most often arising over an unpaid debt.

In both instances, women sometimes engage in hand-to-hand fighting. Women of almost any age, with the exception of the very old, may be involved. Such fighting is characterized by scratching, clawing, biting, hair-pulling, hitting, kicking, or any other method that seems expedient.

In one such fight over a gambling debt, a woman of eighteen, who, incidentally, was in advanced pregnancy when the fight occurred, attempted to collect money from a woman of forty who claimed she did not owe it. The younger woman attacked the older one, knocked or dragged her to the ground, and climbed astride her. While the older woman sought to fend off her adversary, the younger one pummeled her and yanked her hair. The fight was ended by the younger woman's husband who dragged her off. The younger woman, yelling invectives at the older one, strained to break away from her husband and continue the beating she had been so successfully administering, but her husband took her home. This fight occurred at the public gambling place in view of numerous spectators.

All fights over men reported to the investigator involved the wife of the man in question and another woman suspected of adultery with him. Women probably do not fight over the affections of any man unless one of them is already married to him. Such fights are described similarly to the one above in techniques employed. Often they are broken up by the

husband in question or another man who happens to be on the scene or attracted to it. Serious injury probably is not inflicted in fights between women.

Suicide and murder. No Havasupai woman has ever come to violent death or caused one so far as could be discovered. Two known suicides, an attempted shooting (unpremeditated), two deaths by possible accident or suicide, and a deliberate killing all concern men only.

The suicides both were young men. One, a youth of twenty or twenty-one years, shot himself in the heart rather than return to school at Valentine. This occurred about 1900 shortly after Havasupai children had first been sent away to school. The youth in question had been attending school in Valentine a year or more when he was called home because his brother was near death. After his brother's funeral the youth delayed returning to Valentine but, under pressure from the agent and the Indian policeman, he finally started out of the canyon in company with an older man. On the pretext of shooting rabbits, the young man borrowed a rifle from his companion and rode off the trail some distance before shooting himself. The first bullet pierced his lip but missed his head. The second entered his heart.

More recently, in 1954, a nineteen-year-old boy shot himself, supposedly because his parents strongly opposed his marriage to the girl of his choice.

The attempted shooting occurred as described elsewhere in this paper. A man turned a gun on his son when the boy

tried to stop his father from beating his mother. The father served a prison sentence for the attempted shooting, and a divorce also resulted from it.

Apparently there is some question concerning the manner in which the above father met his death, but informants seemed reluctant to discuss the case, and a satisfactory explanation has not yet been obtained by the investigator. The death apparently was either suicide or accidental.

Several versions concerning the death of Prince Wodo are obtainable, depending upon the relationship of the informant to the deceased and other factors. Reportedly, the old man was disturbed because he thought certain persons had designs upon his land. Service (1947, p. 362) recorded a version of the story which appears to have originated with one of the men who wanted the land but received none after the old man's death. He writes, "It is said that the old man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned to death." However, the possibility remains that the death was accidental. A disinterested and unrelated informant who witnessed the dispute between Prince Wodo and others interested in inheriting his land (the dispute occurring on the day preceding his death), inclined to the opinion that it could have been an accident. This informant, although aware that Prince Wodo became angry during the quarrel, thought that the position of Prince Wodo's body may have indicated an attempt to escape from the burning house. The body was lying

prone near the door as though the old man had awakened, stumbled toward the door, and fallen before he could find his way out.

A deliberate killing which occurred long ago was that of a Walapai medicine man who was believed to have killed a number of Havasupai by poisoning them. A relative of one of the dead, in anger stole upon the shaman when he was swimming, and from behind, shot him through the heart with an arrow. The shaman had many relatives among the Walapai, but reportedly, none of them ever said anything to the Havasupai about his death.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

While the roles of male and female are not sharply separated by a boundary line over which there can be no stepping for either sex, masculine and feminine behavior among the Havasupai are, nevertheless, clearly differentiated.

A woman's possible roles are verbally described and actively exemplified by her mother and other feminine relatives and tribal members. She herself is directed, guided, or otherwise encouraged to assume the proper feminine roles from early childhood. Her training is largely permissive, but small girls, more than boys, are firmly given work to do and accorded responsibility. However, girls appear to be insistently, rather than forcefully, directed toward acceptable feminine behavior. Havasupai parents, reflecting Havasupai cultural attitudes, clearly point out possible feminine roles. So successfully is this done that no instance was discovered in which a woman had adopted masculine behavior which irrevocably and continuously set her apart from other women. A few women have performed masculine roles such as hunting, horse racing, or giving advice. However, such activity was always secondary to the individual's performance of feminine roles enacted simultaneously. It did not remotely threaten to eclipse her primary function as a woman. Moreover, women who adopted masculine behavior limited it to only one or two roles, and

such women were always exceptions.

Havasupai society is a masculine-dominated one, and women are in a relatively inferior position. However, this does not mean that the feminine position is an altogether undesirable one; it means, instead, that the feminine course is a limited one, that women have a rather narrowly prescribed path which they must follow to find fulfillment of basic needs or desires. It does not limit the degree of satisfaction obtainable to them but only the manner in which they may obtain it.

Training of the girl from birth to maturity accustoms her to roles expected of her without suggesting alternative courses to her, except of course those she sees prescribed for boys in her culture which from infancy she is discouraged from imitating. Girls learn at an early age that theirs is a life of submissiveness, that they may not chart their own course, and that always there will be men closely attached to them to whom they must defer. Women, apparently, learn this lesson well, and are able to adapt themselves to the various roles set for them, or so their calmer acceptance of disappointment or denial would seem to indicate.

This is not to suggest that Havasupai women find no fault with their position. Women under aboriginal conditions apparently chafed under physical abuse by their husbands, practice of polygyny, and certain other conditions not to their liking. They did not always accept the inevitable with

tranquillity merely because it was inevitable; women were given to fighting in situations which were disagreeable to them, although they might be certain of eventual defeat. Under Anglo-American influence, the Havasupai woman appears to be even less willing to resign herself to situations which formerly were hopeless but which now appear susceptible to improvement.

The Havasupai male, on the other hand, is born into a society in which he is dominant, in which there is usually a woman to do his bidding if he chooses to command her. A boy is pampered, indulged, and relatively undisciplined or unrestrained until rather late in childhood, and stern measures then are rarely taken with him. Perhaps this absence of need for much self-discipline or self-denial furnishes a clue to why men sometimes destroy themselves or resort to violent behavior when they face disappointment or defeat. The alternate situation for the female may suggest why women do not exhibit such extreme behavior in similar circumstances. Through a long series of small disappointments and the necessity for continuous self-discipline, the female may be conditioned to accept the larger life crises, not always with equanimity, but with some fortitude.

Women are permitted certain patterns of self-expression of a hysterical nature which may help to spend emotions arising from frustrations. These same excesses of emotional expression are not open to Havasupai men who are more likely

to seek an outlet in aggressive behavior, sometimes at a woman's expense.

In comparison with neighboring women of the Hopi or Navaho tribes, the Havasupai woman occupies a position of much less security or independence. Both Hopi[8] and Navaho[9] women are pivotal figures in a matrilineal clan system, whereas Havasupai women, in a clanless but patrilineal and largely patrilocal society, remain in a fringe position throughout life.

Among the sedentary and monogamous Hopi, women own the houses, home furnishings, land, seeds, field crops, and food stores. Hopi women thus are socially and economically secure regardless of marital status. In addition, women receive labor in their fields and gifts from their sons, brothers, and brothers' sons. By contrast, among the Havasupai, men aboriginally owned and, with a few exceptions, still own houses, land, and crops. Formerly, the semi-nomadic Havasupai moved from one rude shelter to another on tribally owned hunting and gathering grounds or camped seasonally at family gardening plots.

A Hopi woman divorces her husband merely by setting his personal effects outside the door and he has no alternative but to leave. A Hopi man initiates divorce by moving back to

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[8]See Simpson, 1953; Thompson and Joseph, 1944; and Thompson, 1950.

[9]See Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946; Underhill, 1953; Reichard, 1934; and Reichard, 1936.

his mother's house. A Havasupai woman, on the other hand, in earlier days, could not divorce her husband without his consent, but she could be turned out at his will. Today, under Anglo-American influence, a Havasupai woman can divorce her husband.

A Hopi woman, in crisis, is secure with home and land owned by herself or her mother and is assured that male relatives will assist with farming labor. In contrast, upon divorce or widowhood, a Havasupai woman with few exceptions, finds herself dispossessed and thrust into a position of dependence upon some new group where her presence and that of her children may be welcome or unwelcome but is almost sure to be economically burdensome. She has no economic assets aside from her own ability to work, and oftentimes she may find her dependence upon relatives emotionally disturbing to both them and herself.

Among the semi-nomadic and polygynous Navaho, women, as among the Hopi, are in a strong social position by virtue of the matrilineal clan system and matrilocal residence. Navaho women, in addition, are economically favored through their ownership of sheep and their industry in blanket or rug weaving. Havasupai women own no property comparable to sheep, and their income from basket weaving has not been exploited to the point of significant monetary reward.

While the Havasupai had some association with the Navaho and maintained very friendly trade relations with the

Hopi under aboriginal conditions, their closest neighbors were the Walapai[10] and, in one or two periods, they also associated rather closely with the Paiute[11]. The position of women in the Walapai tribe is almost identical with that of Havasupai women except that Walapai women can become shamans and, perhaps, participate more freely in singing, dancing, and other social diversions. Paiute women, apparently, also occupy a position very similar to that of Havasupai women.

In comparing herself with Walapai or Paiute women whom she was most likely to know well under aboriginal conditions, the Havasupai woman may have seen nothing to excite her envy or admiration. The situation probably differed, however, in her view of Hopi and Navaho women. The extreme rarity of intermarriage between the Havasupai and the Hopi or Navaho may well have been traceable to the difference in inheritance and residence patterns and the consequently less favorable position of women in the Havasupai tribe. Apparently the present contrast with Anglo-American women has done most to arouse dissatisfaction among Havasupai women. However, education and economic opportunities now open to Havasupai women are combining to change their roles and enlarge their rights.

Under former circumstances, a woman's greatest, or perhaps only, emotional satisfaction and security lay in assuming the roles of wife and mother. Her greatest physical

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[10]See Kroeber, 1935.

[11]Dangerfield, personal interview, 1956.

security lay in fulfillment of her part in the economically complementary roles of husband and wife. Every girl expected to marry, and virtually every woman did marry at least once. Havasupai culture, therefore, delineated a pattern of feminine behavior and an ultimate goal possible or attainable for every Havasupai woman. In this, the culture theoretically provided opportunity for all women equally, subject only to individual limitations. Competition existed among the women, of course, for masculine attention and support.

Competition among women in other areas was virtually nil because of the absence of other goals. About the only exception to this was competition in such skills as basket weaving, cooking, and other wifely chores. Competitive spirit was so little emphasized that while excellence was admired, it seemingly did not inspire others to expend much effort to equal or excell in that particular skill.

Havasupai culture, in a broad view, is simple in content. General rules of conduct can be stated explicitly by tribal members, but in application a good deal of leeway is permissible according to the exegencies of particular situations. Within the resulting rather broad framework of possible behavior, an individual of either sex has a wide range of choices open to him in the performance of daily tasks and the manner of their performance. This lack of cultural definition leaves room for considerable personal freedom. A Havasupai woman, while her roles are generally the submissives ones and while

her status must always be inferior to that ascribed to or obtainable by men in her family and social groups, possesses the personal freedom inherent in her culture just as Havasupai men do and only to a lesser degree.

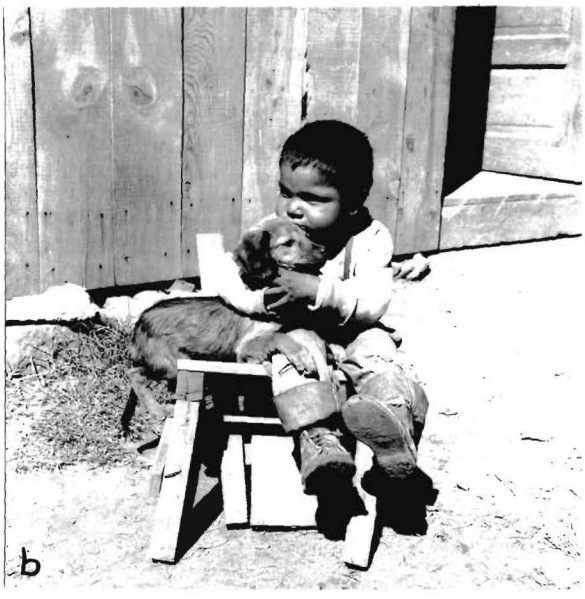


Figure 6. Infancy and childhood. (a) Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months later); (b) Tommy Siyuja, age two years; and (c) Rena Paya, age six, with doll in small cradleboard made for little girls.

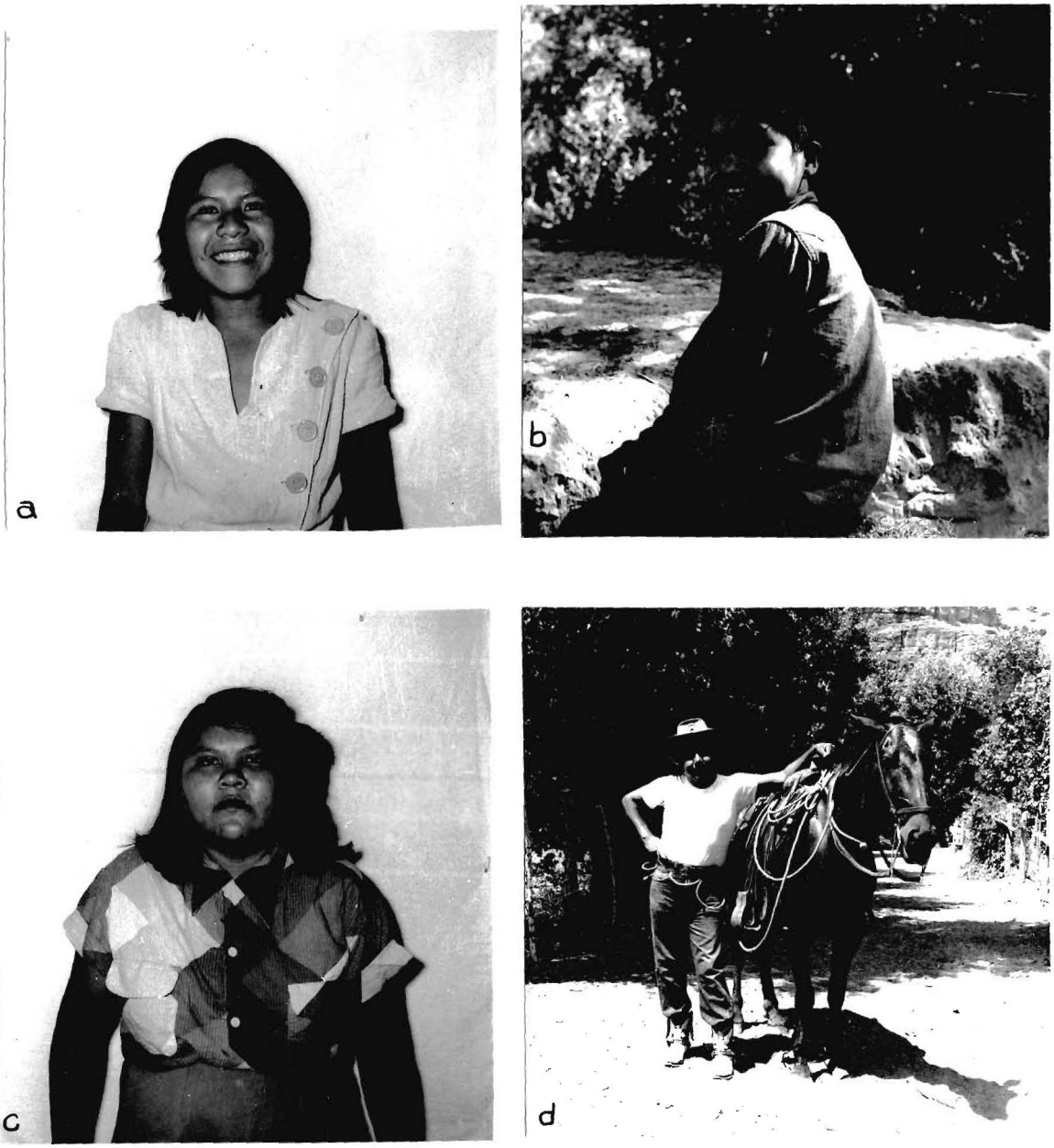


Figure 7. Adolescence and youth. (a) Linda Chick, age twelve years; (b) Neil Uqualla, age twelve; (c) Lorena Marshall, age seventeen; and (d) Bert Jones, age twenty-five.

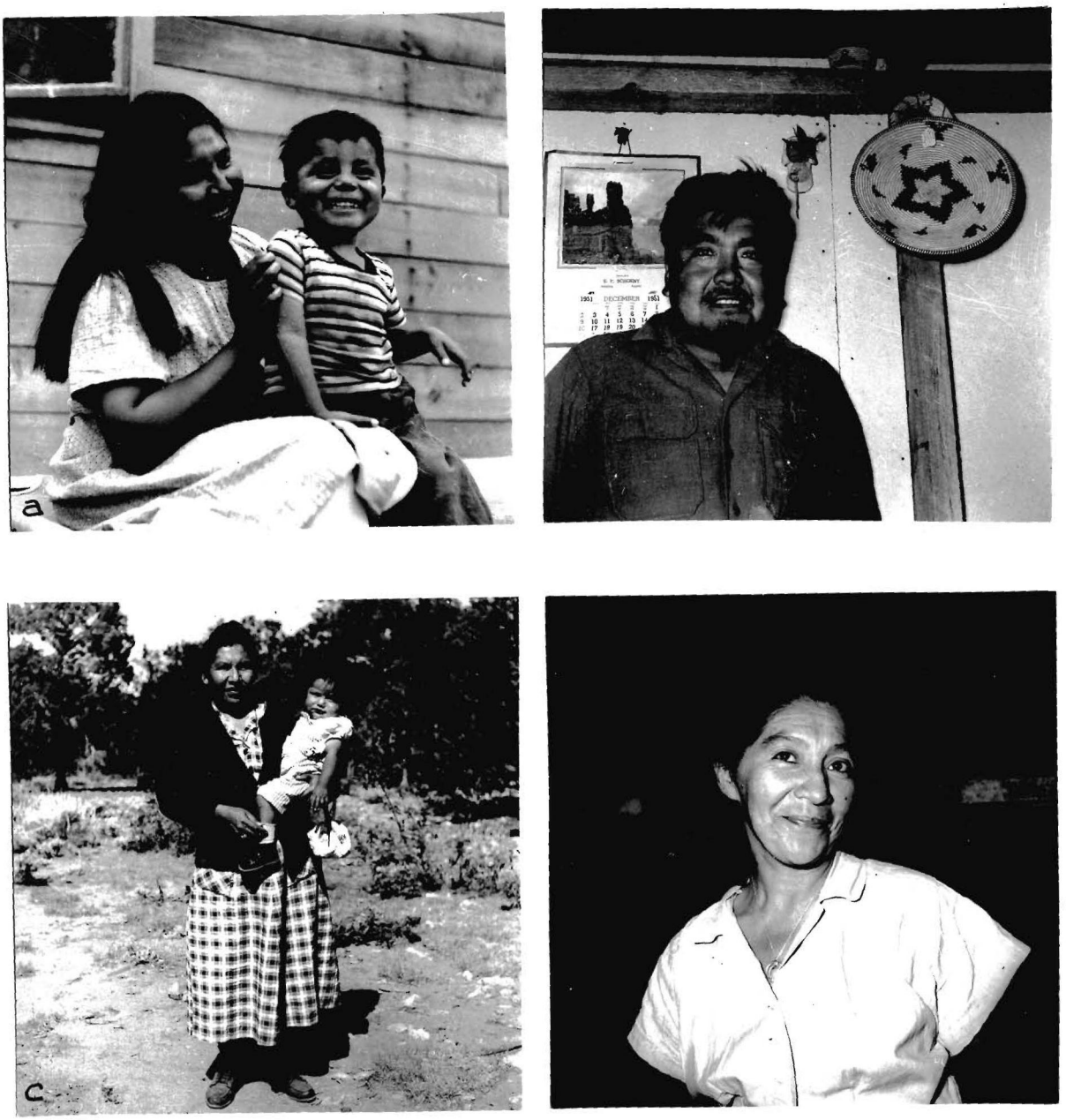


Figure 8. Maturity. (a) Lillian Paya, age twenty-seven years with son, Bernard, age two; (b) Jack Jones, age thirty-four years; (c) Viola Crook, age forty-one, with daughter, Betty Ann, age one year; and (d) Ethel Jack, age forty-four. Viola and Ethel are sisters.

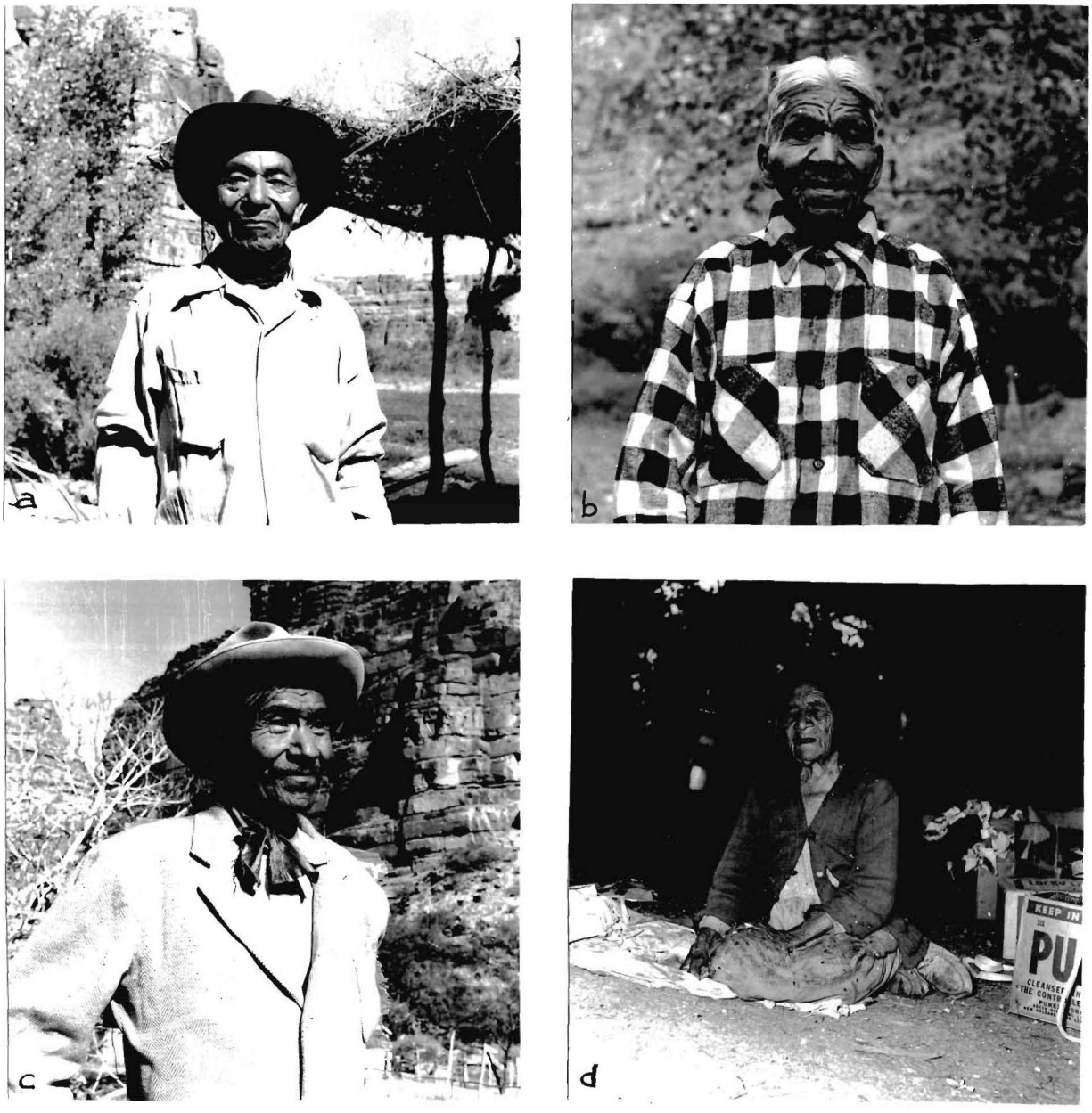


Figure 9. Old age. (a) "Supai Shorty" Montoya, about seventy years old; (b) Allen Akaba, age about seventy-four years; (c) "Spoonhead", age eighty-six; and (d) "Supai Mary" Wescogame, age eighty-six years. Both "Spoonhead" and "Supai Mary" are now deceased. Allen is a shaman and is also official advisor to the youthful head chief.

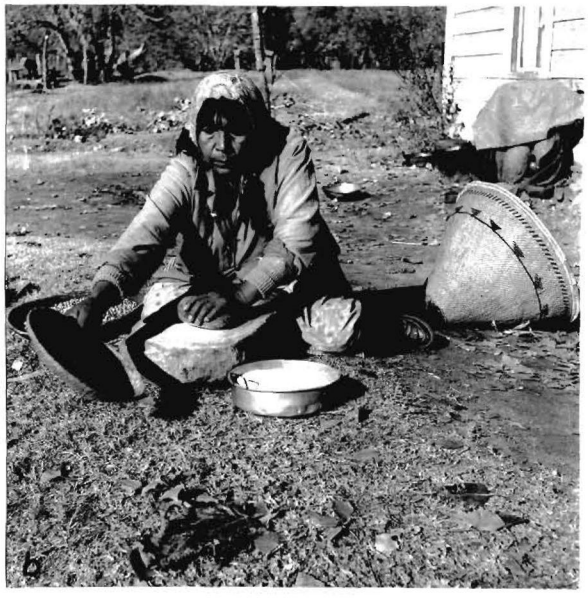


Figure 10. Women grinding corn. (a) Edith Putesoy prepares green corn for a "johnny cake" type of bread; (b) Mamie Chick grinds parched, dried corn.

Figure 11. Women weaving baskets. (a) Coiling technique, a hole is punched with an awl; (b) coiling technique, weft element is threaded around three-rod foundation; (c) twining technique, beginning a basket; and (d) carrying position for burden basket may be with tumpline around bearer's head as shown or with tumpline across chest and shoulders. Women pictured are, in order, Edith Putesoy, Lina Iditicava, Mamie Chick, and again, Mamie Chick.

Figure 12. Manufacture of cradleboard. (a) Binding willow slats to oval frame; (b) trimming ends of willows to fit frame; (c) sewing buckskin strip over cloth binding which was first glued with pinon pitch and sewed along sides of frame to cover rough ends of willow slats; and (d) Lina Iditicava displaying completed cradleboard with wicker hood. Formerly, buckskin was used in place of the cloth strip; now cloth has replaced the buckskin which is added occasionally as an extra feature if it is obtainable.

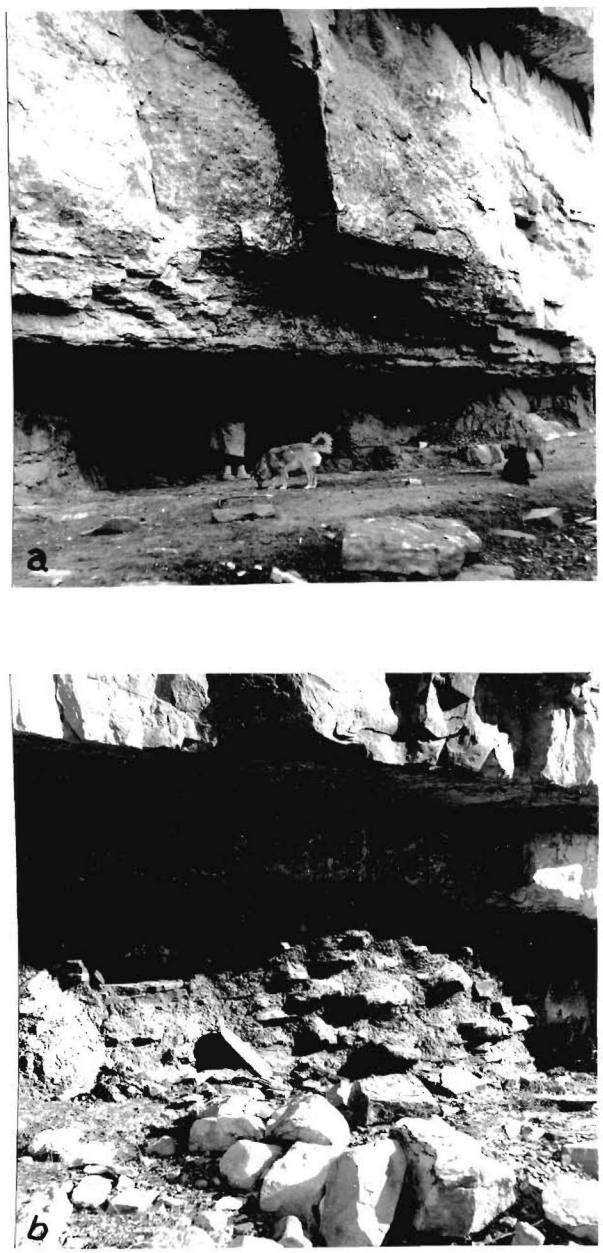


Figure 13. (a) Cave or rock shelter formerly occupied in gardening season before the Havasupai took up permanent residence in the canyon; (b) storage cist constructed of stones and mud formerly used for dried foods. The young woman in both pictures is Virginia Siyuja.

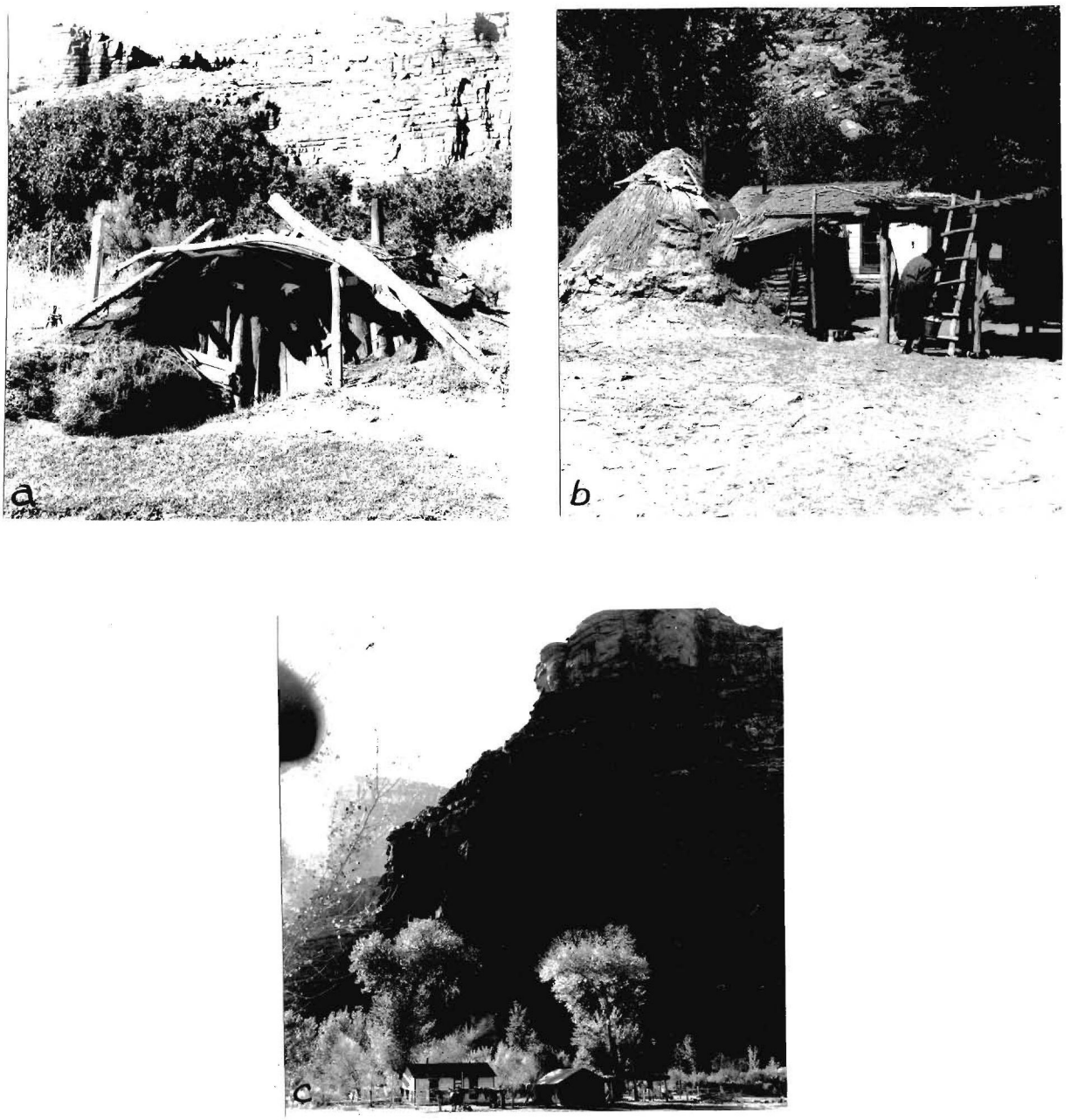


Figure 14. (a) Semi-subterranean, rectangular, log house, now used mostly for storage; (b) old style, thatched, conical lodge with gabled passageway entrance, and in front of house is a brush-roofed shelter used for cooking and most of family activities in good weather; (c)two-room frame house donated by the federal government after the 1910 flood, and a one room structure built of scrap lumber and used for extra sleeping and storage space by family of nine members.

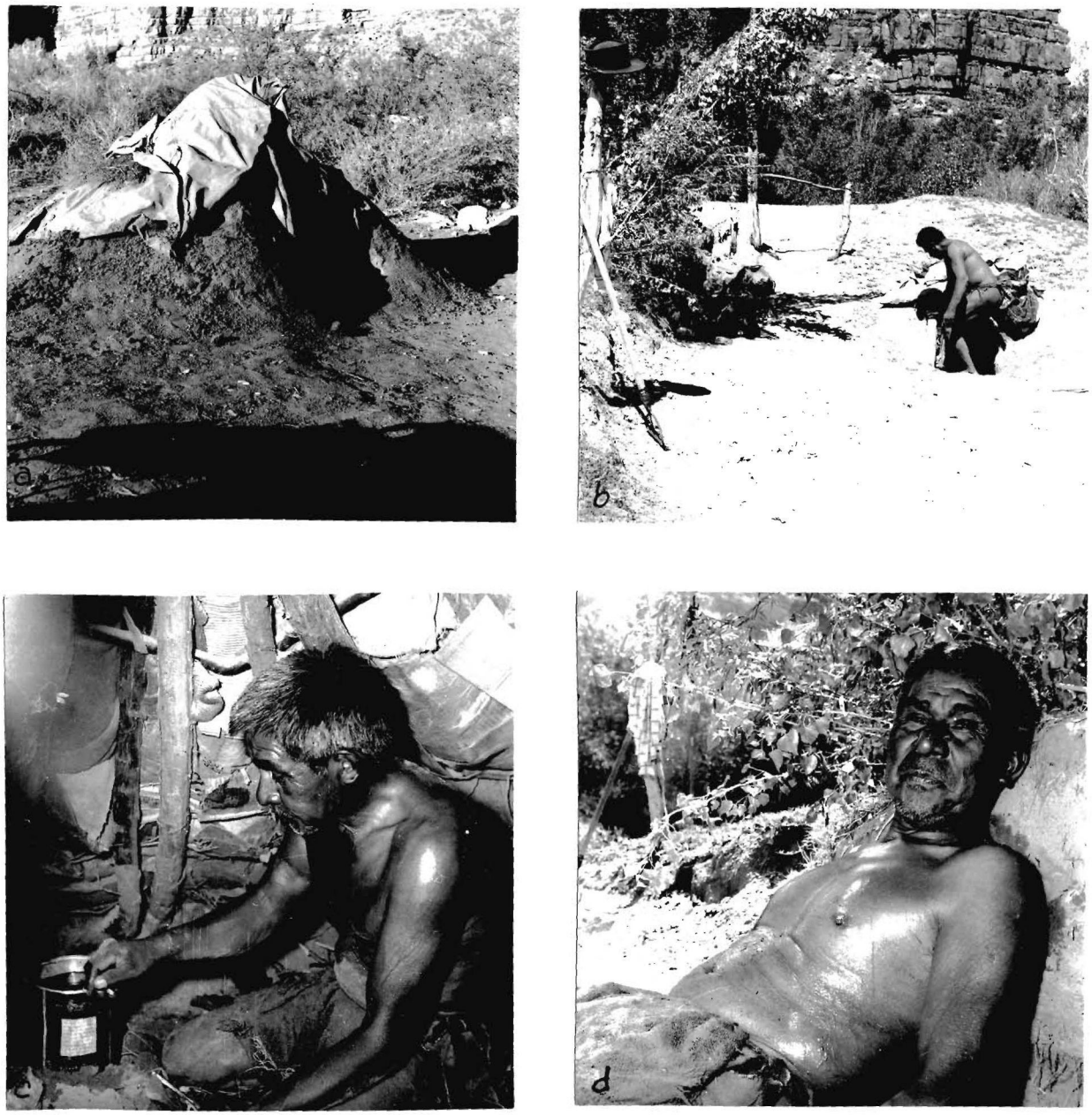
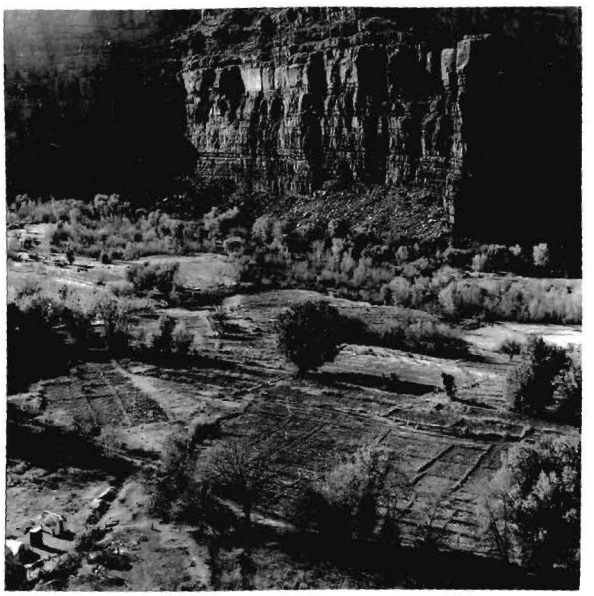


Figure 15. (a) Earth-covered sweatlodge with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway; (b) Juan Sinyella entering a sweatlodge while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn; (c) Duke Iditicava inside sweatlodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks; (d) Duke under brush shade after leaving sweatlodge.



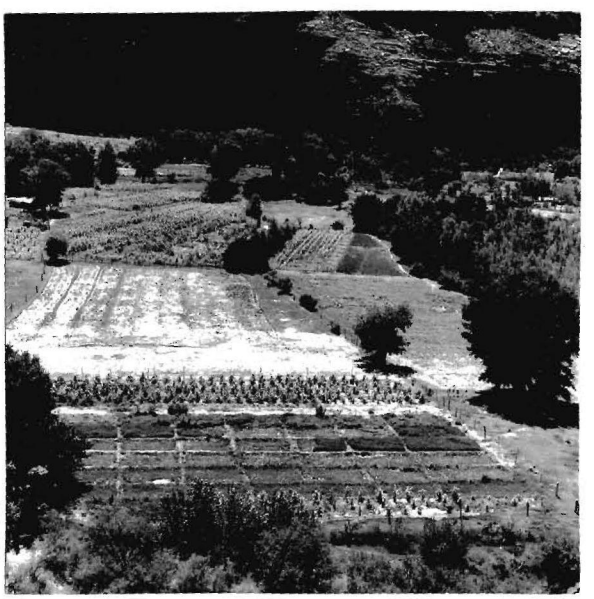


Figure 16. Fields in Havasu Canyon. Irrigation water is diverted from Havasu Creek onto fields by means of a system of laterals and smaller ditches. Individual plots are dyked for flood irrigation.

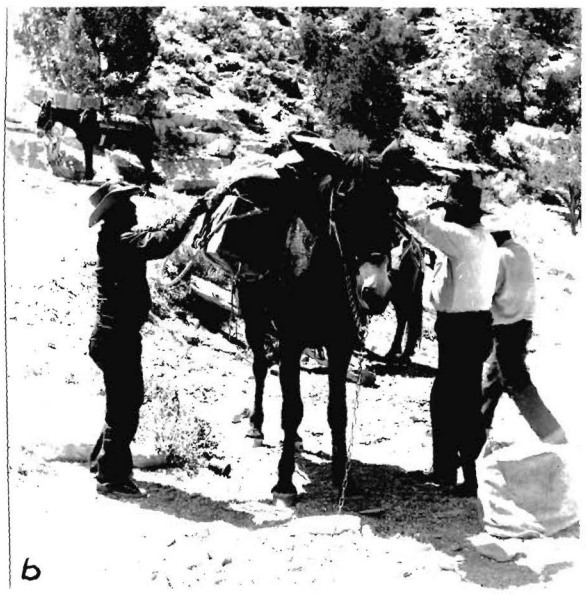


Figure 17. Mail delivery. Mail is brought twice weekly by pickup truck the thirty-five miles from Grand Canyon to (a) Topocoba Hilltop where (b) it is transferred to muleback and carried fourteen miles by trail to (c) the Supai Post Office. When the mules come in sight people drift toward the post office to wait while letters, groceries, and items from mail order houses are sorted and handed out.

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Figure 18. Havasu Creek is the only source of water on the reservation. (a) Young people swimming; (b)Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole; (c) Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing.

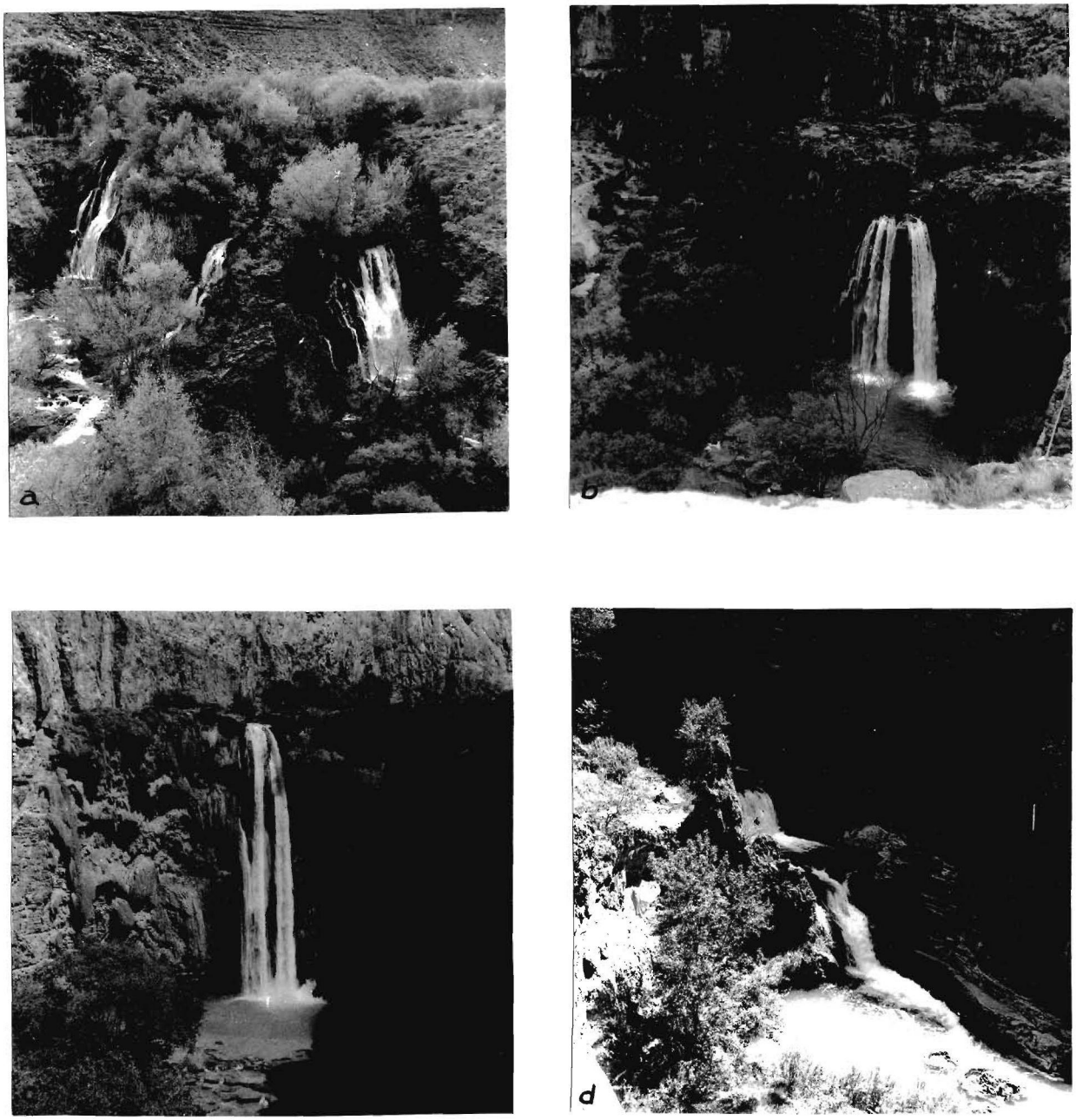

Figure 19. Waterfalls below village. (a) Navaho Falls, eighty feet high; (b) Havasu or Bridal Veil Falls, 110 feet high; (c) Mooney Falls, 220 feet high; and (d) Beaver Falls, about twenty-five feet high.

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